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DUCATION ISSUE–1

Myron B. Bloy

A COUNTER-CURRICULUM

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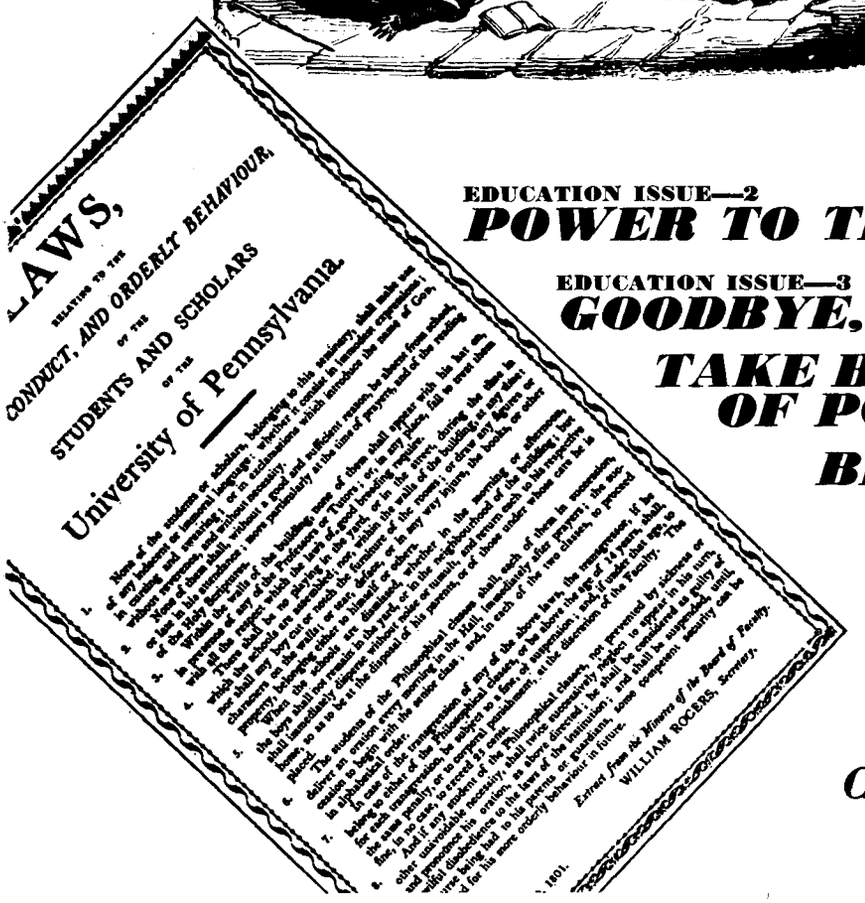
THE INDISPENSABLE SHORT SKIRT

A short skirt is essential in a college girl's outfit. The design given will answer for a rain skirt, a golf skirt, or a skirt to be worn every day in class.



LAWS,
RELATING TO THE
CONDUCT, AND ORDERLY BEHAVIOUR,
OF THE
STUDENTS AND SCHOLARS
OF THE
University of Pennsylvania.

1. None of the students or scholars, belonging to this seminary, shall make use of any indecent or immoral language; whether it consists in lewdness expressions; without necessity, and without necessity.
2. None of them shall, without a good and sufficient reason, be absent from school, or late in his attendance; more particularly at the time of prayers, and of the reading of the Holy Scriptures.
3. Whilst the walls of the building, none of them shall appear with his hat on in presence of any of the Professors or Tutors; or, in any place, fail to treat them with all the respect which the laws of good breeding require.
4. There shall be no playing in the yard, or in the street, during the time in which the schools are assembled; nor, within the rooms; or draw any figures on the walls, or any way injure the books, or other property, belonging either to himself or others.
5. When the schools are dismissed, whether in the morning or afternoon, the boys shall not remain in the yard, or in the neighbourhood of the building; but shall immediately disperse without noise or tumult, and return each to his respective home, so as to be at the disposal of his parents, or those under whose care he is placed.
6. The students of the Philosophical classes shall, each of them in succession, deliver an oration every morning in the Hall, immediately after prayers; the succession to begin with the senior class; and, in each of the two classes, to proceed in alphabetical order.
7. In case of the transgression of any of the above laws, the transgressor, if he belong to either of the Philosophical classes, or be above the age of 14 years, shall, for each transgression, be subject to a fine, or suspension; and, if under that age, to the same penalty, or to corporal punishment, at the discretion of the Faculty. The fine, in no case, to exceed 25 cents.
8. And if any student of the Philosophical classes, not prevented by sickness or other unavoidable necessity, shall twice successively neglect to appear in his turn, and manifest his opinion as above directed; he shall be considered as guilty of wilful disobedience to the laws of the Institution; and shall be suspended, until ...re being had to his parents or guardians, and shall be considered as guilty of ...d for his more orderly behaviour in future. Some competent security can be

Extract from the Minutes of the Board of Faculty.
WILLIAM ROGERS, Secretary.

...1801.

EDUCATION ISSUE—2

David J. O'Brien

POWER TO THE STUDENTS

EDUCATION ISSUE—3

David R. Papke

GOODBYE, HARVARD

TAKE BRAZIL OUT OF PORTUGAL, BUT...

BLACK PANTHERS IN AFRICA

REVIEWS: *Rexroth, Callahan, Gargan, D'Arazien*

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NEWS & VIEWS

Green for Greed

If there was any doubt about this being the corporation's dream Administration, the latest round of industry price-hikes dispels it completely.

Control Data Corporation, following the leads of competitors IBM and Burroughs, raised costs on computer products and maintenance services by 5 percent, effective Oct. 1.

General Electric, keeping step with Honeywell, boosted prices and rental fees on its computers between 3 and 5 percent.

RCA color consoles are going up $30 a set at the retail level. Sylvania plans a 2.5 percent jump on its TV products. Phillips Films is doing twice as good; it is slapping a 5 percent increase on most of its line.

A year ago, when General Motors lifted prices by 2 percent, GM executives flew to Washington to be sure the increase would be "understood." But last year isn't today. GM recently upped 1970 car prices 3.9 percent —$125 per vehicle; Jerry Flint of the *New York Times* noted that the White House neither asked nor received any prior information. Now Ford and Chrysler are upping pricetags $100-plus.

How the situation has changed. When U.S. Steel tacked $6 to the ton in April, 1962, President Kennedy took an enraged protest to the nation and forced a roll-back; last June U.S. Steel decreed a 4.8 percent increase and there was nary a stir in the White House. Not even LBJ would have been complacent about that.

But with Nixon, corporate industry has the green light, no question about it. It also has the promise of advantageous tax reform.

The present corporate tax rate is 52.8 percent. By 1972, this will drop to 46 percent, according to provisions of the Administration's proposed tax reform bill. That's a 6.8 percent bonus. Not bad.

The loss in revenue to the public treasury will be $800 million the first year, and $1.6 billion thereafter.

The Administration's rationale is that the corporate tax cut is needed as "an important offset" to articles of the tax reform bill "withdrawing incentives to investment, such as the repeal of investment credit." There's a word for that manure.

Who's getting hurt in all of this? Who else but the consumer. It now costs $128.20 to purchase goods and services which cost $100 in 1957-59. The current rate of inflation is pushing 7 percent, and it is beginning to look as though we are not even glimpsing the ultimate ceiling.

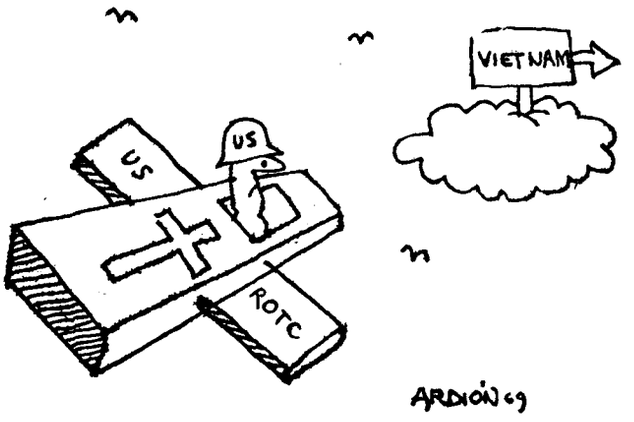
Will Nixon cool things? Maybe. Last thing he did in San Clemente was buy a water basketball set.

Cox on Catholicism

Official Catholicism's yardstick for measuring the conduct of its bishops is fractured by Harvey Cox in *Christianity and Crisis.*

"A church that harbors its Defreggers and kicks out its Shannons has sacrificed yet another claim to credibility and respect," Cox writes.

His suggestion: "Perhaps both men should remain in the church and at their posts . . . [Defregger's] continuance in the church would remind us all of our own complicity in the crimes of past and present. Shannon's reinstatement . . . would demonstrate to countless Catholics, now staggering under the betrayal of the spirit of Vatican II, that *aggiornamento* is not dead. To the rest of us it would prove that a gifted and dedicated Christian leader need not be exiled because he is married or disagrees with the pope on this or that."



Resistance/LNS

Column Right, March!

It's guns and Aquinas yet at Loyola University, Chicago. From the office of Father R. W. Mulligan, S.J., vice-president, has gone the following letter to the parents of male freshmen:

"The Jesuit Fathers at Loyola University are very happy to receive your son into the ranks of their students. No matter what program your son takes at Loyola, it will be a program that has been carefully studied and approved by the Jesuit Fathers in the University.

"One such program which the Jesuits at Loyola have endorsed is the ROTC program. We sincerely feel that the military instruction given to Loyola students can be an important part of their education, and for this reason we encourage our students to take part in the ROTC. . . .

"The ROTC program . . . has been recently modified to include strict academic disciplines . . . 'World History' and a political science course entitled 'Foundations of National Power' have replaced more military oriented subjects of past years. The Jesuits wholeheartedly support these changes. . . .

"Loyola University does not compel her students to take ROTC. However, we wish to call your attention to the many benefits of this program and to the fact that it is heartily endorsed by the Fathers here at Loyola. If you encourage your son to join the ROTC, I assure you that you will not regret it."

Neither will Caesar.

Odds 'n Ends

—The *Catholic Herald-Citizen,* which served the function of an unfree press by refusing advertising for the 1969 Liturgical Week, closes the incident by suggesting the NLC change its name. Among new names recommended by the Milwaukee archdiocesan weekly: National Conference for Christianity and Pacifism.

—Further 'signs of the times': the American Catholic Psychological Association is considering disbanding. The association has already suspended its semi-annual publication, and will act at its spring meeting on a proposal to form an organization open to any psychologist of any or no religious affiliation.

—Gregoria Bezerra, the 70-year-old ex-Army sergeant from Recife, who was one of the 15 political prisoners sprung in exchange for U.S. Ambassador Elbrick, was reported by *Time* in May of '64 as having died of a heart attack.

—But to prove we all have our bad days, the *New York Times* buried into a story that the U.S. has "60 percent less vitamin fortification than 20 years ago," information about the Army approaching 1967 Nobel laureate George Wald with the proposition he develop a chemical agent that would blind people. Wald reminded the Army that he was proud of his work. JOHN DEEDY

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CORRESPONDENCE

By Any Other Name

Windsor, Ont.

To the Editors: Some years ago the now defunct *Anglican Dialogue* announced on its cover that one issue would be devoted to "pacificism." This seemed to me one of the most charming things I had seen until your Aug. 22 issue.

How are we to interpret the proclamation "Liturgical Issue"? It might be a mistake. But maybe it has deeper significance: perhaps there is no meaningful way to use the word liturgy any more. Or even, perhaps, since liturgy is the point at which everything comes to its quintessential meaning, then anything at all is liturgical—but if that is the case then every issue of *Commonweal* is a "Liturgical Issue."

(REV.) T. C. AKELEY, O.G.S.

A Happy Ending

Great Neck, N. Y.

To the Editors: Readers may recall my article "18-Minute Verdict" [March 28th] about two black Marines who received sentences of ten and six years for expressing dissenting views about race and Vietnam.

William Harvey and George Daniels spent nearly two years in prison but for the time being at least, there is a happy ending. They have now been released and returned to active duty pending determination of their case by the Court of Military Appeals.

This is the first time that military prisoners have been freed under these circumstances. It is, I believe, a result of the fact that while convictions have in the past been reversed by the Court many prisoners had meanwhile served their complete sentence in the time it took to reach a decision. Thus,

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SHAKING THE DUST

Reading, and writing, editorials frequently seems an exercise in futility. The final flourish of editorial rhetoric is always capped by the thought, what can one do?—and too often no ready answer is at hand.

Editorials about the war in Vietnam are more than ordinarily coated with the thick dust of futility. Public pledges to negotiate, to end the war, to withdraw troops, to cancel draft calls automatically invite further doubts, more suspicion. Does Mr. Nixon really want to get out? Is he only trying to lull the opposition, and teach America to live with this war?

Or is the choice between those interpretations really necessary? Yes, Mr. Nixon sincerely wants to end the war—on his own terms, terms which, to date, appear totally unacceptable to the other side. Yes, Mr. Nixon is trying to lull the opposition—that is a primary rule of politics. In case negotiations collapse, would Mr. Nixon prefer a public opinion in high dudgeon rather than one docile and tranquil? More important, a tranquilized American opinion is another factor to be used in forcing the insurgents' hand at the bargaining table—a "blue chip" the Generals used to say when they were talking about bombing. If little progress has been made at Paris, this is because the real negotiating is going on between Washington and Saigon and between various factions within Washington and Saigon; and in *those* negotiations Mr. Nixon is still trying to keep all his options open.

No, the real question of the moment is not what Mr. Nixon wants, but what do *we* want. Those who believe the U.S. is prosecuting a criminal war in Asia want to close some of Mr. Nixon's options for him, above all, the option that America can push the horror of Vietnam from sight and adjust itself to the continuation, for years, of a scaled-down "manageable" conflict. By the end of the year, the Administration will have withdrawn 60,000 troops from Vietnam. There will be 473,000 still there. At the current rate of withdrawal, we would not be out of Vietnam till 1977. That's halfway to 1984.

And for once, the dust of futility can be shaken. There is something to be done, to be done in a collective effort, to be done individually by Americans who are willing to accept their responsibility. The Vietnam Moratorium

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Committee, an offshoot of the McCarthy campaign, is asking that Americans suspend "business as usual" on October 15 to work for peace. Students and faculty will leave their classrooms to hold meetings, organize rallies, go door-to-door ringing doorbells. The Committee hopes that other Americans will do the same; information can be obtained from them at 1029 Vermont Avenue, N.W., Washington D.C., 20005. One month later, on November 14 and 15, the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam will sponsor a 36-hour "March Against Death" from Arlington Cemetery, past the White House, to the Capitol. Each marcher will bear a name of an American killed in Vietnam or a village destroyed. On the same days, the Student Mobilization Committee will call a student strike and hold rallies in Washington and San Francisco. In between these two major events, on October 25, there will be a demonstration in Chicago supporting the eight persons on trial for conspiracy as a result of their actions at the Democratic Convention.

For the peace movement these dates are crucial. The pressures of 1968, the dashed hopes stirred by Johnson's retirement and the opening of talks in Paris as well as the candidacies of McCarthy and Kennedy, had their disintegrating effect. Many opponents of the war slid into apathy or put a desperate faith in disruptive measures. The moment has come, once again, in the words of the Moratorium Committee, to "go to the people" and build "the largest and broadest anti-war movement ever seen in the United States."

The editorial staff of *Commonweal* has decided to suspend its activities on October 15. We hope to be joining millions of others in manifesting our opposition to this war. There must be a moratorium on business—and war —as usual.

BACK TO BLACK LISTS?

An assistant professor of philosophy has been dismissed from her post at U.C.L.A. because she acknowledged her membership in the Communist Party. Several distinguished young historians have reportedly had trouble keeping their positions or obtaining new ones because of their radical views. Young teachers who supported radical positions at academic conventions have encountered unexplained obstacles in seeking jobs. Educational decisions, such as recent ones to further restrict out-of-state graduate students ("outside agitators") at some Midwestern state universities, are transparently aimed at quieting dissent. The relationship between academic freedom and political values may not be so simple as many thought a few years back. But it is disturbing to see the academic community much less aroused over cases of political blacklisting, involving even major universities, than over the Guild Rights threatened by, say, Black Studies departments.

THE 'SHARPIE' JUDGE

It is a curious irony that so soon after the Fortas episode the nation should be confronted with the embarrassment of Clement Haynsworth as Supreme Court nominee. The Fortas and Haynsworth cases are different in their details and both are overlaid with large amounts of political propaganda, but they sum to a common, justifiable complaint: a deficient sense of propriety among persons who are expected to be the epitome of same. Supreme Court justices, like Caesar's wife, should be above suspicion, and precisely such a justice was looked for as the nominee of the righteous, rightist Republicans around Nixon. Instead, the nation sees before it (borrowing an adjective from a *Times* report) a "sharpie" judge.

Senator Kennedy worries "whether the candidate is a contemporary man of the times." Ideologically, he certainly is not; Haynsworth is back around 1922. But in a country which exalts the profit motive and combines wealth and respectability into a kind of national virtue, Haynsworth is indeed a man of the times, the very model of success. Ethics, of course, are a secondary factor in the equation so long as one operates within the law, however barely.

For this reason, barring some dramatic new revelation or sudden electrification of the Senatorial conscience, the "sharpie" judge from South Carolina seems assured of his Supreme Court seat. And there he will find himself no leper among the clean. For this is still the same High Court which last June declined to bind itself to the code of ethics which the Juridical Conference laid down for all federal judges, Supreme Court members excluded. One of the last actions of former Chief Justice Earl Warren was to seek to persuade his colleagues to subscribe voluntarily to that code. The majority declined and decided to defer action to this October.

October is now upon them; and, because of the ethical vulnerability of designee Haynsworth, an issue which might have been ducked through a change of chief justices and convenient shortness of memory is alive and moving before the justices. They have no choice but to act.

Actually the matter should not be a painful one. A justice's salary is $60,000. The code merely bars the acceptance of outside fees and dictates the filing of annual reports on investments and assets. Some justices might object that the code impugns their integrity, but the unfortunate fact is that it is men of their own station who have undermined a trust which had been implicit. Under the circumstances, the code is insufficient in itself, for as the Juridical Conference has observed, it still leaves untouched large areas of juridical conduct which are not defined or which are imprecisely articulated by the Canons of Juridical Ethics. The Haynsworth case, as the Fortas case before it, demonstrates clearly that clarifications are urgent. But that is not reason to pigeonhole the limited code covering business assets and connections.

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You Can Take Brazil Out of Portugal, but . . .

After a five-day state visit of Premier Marcello Caetano, who succeeded Salazar as Portugal's chief of Government last September, Brazil agreed to step up commercial and cultural interchanges with Lisbon. That is understandable given the historical relations of the two countries. Yet the trade between Portugal and Brazil is so unimportant and their cultural ties, from Luis de Camöens to Carlos Drummond de Andrade, are so far from loosening—in spite of the censorships—that Dr. Caetano must be somewhat disappointed. Caetano's reasons for visiting Brazil, as a matter of fact, were less elevated than those which led to the agreements; his purpose was to persuade the Brazilian military dictatorship to join in the defense of Portugal's African territories whose colonial status is being threatened by nationalist guerrilla movements. Such intentions, clearly and publicly expressed by Caetano in his main official speech, would have been, say, in Chile, Venezuela or Uruguay, a major diplomatic blunder. The interesting point, however, is that in Brazil no one in Government seemed terribly bothered by Caetano's proposal. There are good reasons, which are the subject of these notes, and a lesson can be drawn from them.

Portugal is the most backward country in Europe with a statistical profile as gloomy as some of the worst of the Third World: the annual per capita income is about $400; about 50 percent of the population is illiterate; 80 percent of the habitations have no bathroom and only 40 percent have electricity; the rural sector suffers a chronic underemployment and the urban unemployment is severe; the perspectives are so dim that the migration rate, between 1959 and 1964, almost doubled (to nearly 0.80 percent of the population); the balance of payments has a continuing deficit ($326 million in 1965).

That sad economic reality is sustained by a frightening social reality—the colonies, which are what compensate for the metropolitan deficit. Officially, of course, (before the United Nations, for example—although the U.N. is not deceived as is proven by their constant condemnations), Portugal has no colonies, for on June 11, 1951, the colonies became "overseas provinces." Nevertheless, the Portuguese Organic Law (VII, 69, A) clearly indicates that the basic objective of Portugal with regard to her "overseas provinces" is that of the "methodical exploitation of the natural resources and possibilities of those territories." These are what condition the social status of its inhabitants.

Until September, 1961, Portuguese law in her colonies differentiated between the "Portuguese citizens" and the "natives." The "Statute of Nativeness" was abolished on that date for international political reasons, but the situation has not changed. For example, in the 1962 elections, only 200 of the 29,000 voters in Mozambique were Africans. It is because of this that Portugal assigns 40 percent of her budget to Defense ($360-million in 1967, or 8 percent of the gross national product). That enormous percentage (probably the second highest in the West, after that of the U.S.) maintains an army of colonial repression of about 125,000 men. It is estimated (by Marvin Howe, of the *New York Times*) that in Portuguese Guinea, Angola and Mozambique there are about 24,000 guerrillas, but as everyone should have learned by now, numerical inferiority is only theoretical in a national liberation war—that is, at least, one of the lessons of Vietnam. The allusion to Vietnam is not gratuitous, because, as Howe reports, President Américo Rodrigues Thomaz declared in his New Year's message to the nation that "Portugal is engaged in a lonely crusade to defend Western civilization against Communism in Southern Africa."

Now we begin to understand why the proposal of Premier Caetano didn't stir anybody in the Brazilian Government. After all, the 1964 military coup had as a justification the defense of the sacred principles of the Western world jeopardized by the "leftist" Administration of Joao Goulart, and it was in the same spirit that Brazilian troops were sent to join the "Inter-American Peace Force" at the time of the invasion of Santo Domingo. Premier Caetano's references to the Western "security" were not just hollow tropes for the Brazilian generals; the concept of "ideological borders" has been developed in their "School of War" to levels of subtlety that Borges' theologians would envy.

But the likeness doesn't stop here; "internal security" is as important in Portugal as in Brazil. The Portuguese legislation on national security is the Decree-Law 40550 (March 12, 1956). Said decree not only punishes without trial citizens associated, related, or caught in "subversive" actions, but is goes further, punishing inclusively those who "are susceptible of having followed, intentionally or *unintentionally* (sic!), the direction of movements considered subversive"; the penalty is "prison for an *indeterminate* (italics mine) amount of time" (a quality which in a speech Salazar considered "pedagogical"). The Decree-Law "watches over the homes, streets, public places, cafes, clubs, recreational and cultural associations and student activities." As the Brazilian journalist Otto Maria Carpeaux has pointed out, only the nation's maternity wards, bathrooms and cemeteries remain free.

Brazilian national security legislation is not as specific as the Portuguese, but the results are no less Kafkian: President Costa e Silva, unsatisfied with his power to suspend the Constitutional individual rights of any citizen, issued last March a decree strengthening Brazil's national security law. Under the new provisions, "sub-

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version" can be punished with one to three years' imprisonment; the Orwellian touch is in the clause about "private subversion." But Costa e Silva is no Big Brother, once he couldn't rally behind him a majority of the Brazilian military chiefs; he is just a front man. Brazil, since January 1968, is ruled by a National Security Council.

Both in Portugal and in Brazil the concept of "subversive" is broad and ambiguous enough to include Catholic bishops as well as long-haired students. In a word, to be subversive is to oppose the regime, because—as Foreign Minister Franco Nogueira said in a speech last February—"contestation destroys authority." The state must therefore not be prevented from "using violence to enforce the law, to prevent the maneuvers of those persons who want to disturb the rhythm of work and jeopardize the national economy." Portugal's economy, as we have seen, depends on its colonies; and, since Brazil has no colonies, a superficial observer could conclude that the likeness between Brazil and Portugal ends here. Not a bit—it's just a matter of semantics. The fact that Angola or Mozambique are since 1951 Portuguese "overseas provinces" doesn't change at all the structure of their economic relations with Lisbon, which is colonial.

In much the same way, the fact that the rural-agricultural areas of Brazil are Federal States doesn't modify the reality of their economic relationship with the industrial-urban centers—relationship that is referred to, in contemporary socio-economic studies, as "internal colonialism" (although the concept is not new, nor the phenomenon: Burckhardt, writing about the Phoenicians, uses the term, referring to a similar situation). It is understandable, therefore, that the main "subversive" crime, in Portugal, is to attack the colonial system. Last February, when the police cleared up the Law School, the students were charged with a "crime against the nation" for postering a photograph of Eduardo Mondlane—the Mozambique guerrilla leader murdered that month. After Caetano started to soften some of the features of the Portuguese fascist political order, he was warned by the Armed Forces that any change in the colonial policies would provoke a reaction on their part. Accordingly, any attempt to change the present socio-economic structures is, in Brazil, subversive. The Brazilian Army, although reluctantly, did nothing when, in the first phase of the Goulart Administration, national-laborism was experienced; but when land and income redistribution was sought, the response was the 1964 coup.

Goulart was one of Brazil's biggest landowners, and Mondlane, was a U.S.-trained sociologist suspected of being a CIA agent; yet both were fought in the name of anti-Communism. Moreover, in the name of anti-Communism, in Portugal and Brazil, as well as in Greece and Argentina and in many other places, Congress is castrated or altogether closed, politicians and intellectuals are exiled, jailed or murdered, students repressed, peasants kept in à de facto slavery. It is not done, however, for democracy's sake, but to conserve an unjust and criminal status quo. The goal is Stability and the means Security, the two key words of any authoritarian state. Caetano's appeal, therefore, had to fall into a silent vacuum, because the African guerrilla movements threaten Portugal's stability, not Brazil's, although the "security" arguments are the same as those of the Brazilian School of War. They cannot fool each other.

American policy-makers can learn a lesson from this situation: if anti-Communist Governments, with U.S. support, establish bloody dictatorships to perpetuate colonial socio-economic structures, Communism or the like could as well become a hope. (If a Leftist Front wins the 1970 Chilean elections, President Nixon should, before anything else, check two facts: in the last week of March, 1964, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs Thomas C. Mann delivered a speech announcing that Washington had given up its policy of opposing military coups; April 1, a few days later, the military took over in Brazil, and, before Constitutional President Goulart had left the country, Washington sent its "warmest wishes" to the new-born dictatorship). Several great historians attribute the fall of the Roman Empire to the general hatred it managed to inspire. HUGO ESTENSSORO

(Hugo Estenssoro, a 1968-69 World Press Institute Fellow, is a New York-based U.S. correspondent for Latin American papers.)

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Black Panthers In Africa

While the F.B.I. and local police round them up with increasing urgency at home, the Black Panthers have attained semi-diplomatic status abroad. The opening July 22 of their Algiers "Afro-American Information Center," a two-story, downtown office provided by the Algerian government, was a highlight of the First Pan-African Cultural Festival, sponsored by the Organization of African Unity. His bright orange *dashiki* reflecting the scorching Mediterranean sunlight, Eldridge Cleaver, accompanied by Panther national captain Dave Hilliard and playwright Ed Bullins, made a short dedication speech (including ritual praise for Al Fatah, as is the custom at public gatherings here) and brought a thunderous chorus of "Vive les Panthères Noires" from the delighted Algerian crowd.

It was exactly five years ago that Malcolm X appeared at the Cairo conference of the O.A.U. and proposed close, official links between the Afro-American movement and the African states. In 1964, several of the del-

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egates explained to Malcolm that the spectrum of conflicting black American groups made organizational ties impossible. But the decline of the Black Muslims (always incomprehensible to African Muslims), the burial of Dr. King and the demise of his doctrine among the black masses, have allowed the Panthers to emerge as the nearest thing to a popular black national movement, and they have been accepted as such by many Africans.

The usefulness to the Panthers of an African information bureau is evident. In the first place, they can now much more easily solicit diplomatic support for their plan—first enunciated by Malcolm X—to persuade the United Nations to investigate U.S. treatment of blacks. Secondly, they can now try to counteract U.S. Information Agency efforts in Africa to portray the U.S. racial struggle in terms of steady progress thanks to the principled stand of the federal government. Moreover, their semi-diplomatic status is liable to increase their organization's prestige among militant blacks in America.

The choice of Algiers, as opposed to a city in black Africa, is less obvious, until it is remembered that the Panthers are not searching for their long-lost African identity (following Fanon, Cleaver treats "cultural nationalism" as a narcissism of the oppressed). Rather they are seeking to understand and put into practice the strategy and tactics of political revolution. It is in the revolutionary struggle itself, for Cleaver and Fanon, that the oppressed will come to possess their true identity, will become the *equal* of the oppressor, and will be able to create an authentic, independent culture.

Algiers offers several advantages for the Panthers. Since the last Arab-Israeli war, there has been neither U.S. Embassy nor USIA office in Algiers (the downtown American library is held under lock and key by the Algerians); this will reduce unwanted surveillance and competitive propaganda. Algiers is a popular center for liberation movements from all points of the globe. Al Fatah and the Viet Cong have important bureaus here, and less known rebel groups from Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and South Africa are represented, and are said to receive guerrilla training. Rubbing shoulders with organizations like these will surely raise the Black Panthers' standing in world leftist circles, while acquainting the Panthers with the technique of revolt in use around the world.

More important still, their presence in Algeria will permit the Panthers to learn first hand of the Algerians' own struggle for independence, which both Malcolm X and Eldridge Cleaver have repeatedly called a crucial lesson for the black American struggle. The parallels between the pre-independence status of the Algerians and the present status of the Afro-Americans are indeed intriguing, though, of course, there are great differences too.

In the whole of the French colonial world, Algeria was a special case, for the French did not consider Algeria a colony. It was as French as Auvergne, Bourgogne or Brittany—equally inseparable from Paris. To be sure, most of its inhabitants spoke a different language, but so did the Bretons. Like the Bretons, the Algerians would gradually become French. They were encouraged to adopt French dress and customs, but systematically denied equal access to French education, jobs and housing. Political and economic power were reserved for Europeans or an occasional native with clearly demonstrated allegiance to French leadership. All men had the right to French citizenship, but the color line was razor sharp. (The mountain-dwelling Kabylians, whiter and bluer-eyed than many Frenchmen, were still distinguishable by their frizzy hair.)

White Americans, like the French in the 1950's, might guffaw at the notion that they stand in a colonial relationship to the black Americans today. But the important question is whether the *black man* feels the relationship, and to what degree. The French had no idea of the scope of the rebellion that was but a few years away. The Algerians were superbly assimilated, happy to participate in the French way of life. Granted, they still suffered some disadvantages, but the law guaranteed them equal rights. Moreover, the French thought, a rebellious minority could easily be destroyed by French firepower. Indeed, as it turned out, the French never did lose the war militarily. They lost it when they realized that their choice was between systematic massacre of the Algerian natives—an organized core of whom refused to cease rioting and planting bombs—and the granting of some kind of independence.

Of course the Afro-Americans, unlike the Algerians, have no piece of territory to which they can obviously lay claim. As Cleaver has pointed out with respect to the land question, blacks resemble the nineteenth-century Jews. The Algerians, moreover, had the advantage of a distinct language and religion, allowing them to maintain a clearly separate identity from the French throughout the 130 years of French rule.

But the Algerian experience is nevertheless relevant to America. An oppressed ethnic group, benefiting *de jure* from equal rights and seemingly well assimilated, can come to prefer the sufferings of protracted warfare (urban and rural) to peace with continued indignities. And after a bloody period of time-bombings (brutally effective in French sections of Algiers) and other attacks, a majority of the dominant group can come to prefer compromise with the rebels. The latter need not succeed in overthrowing the ruling group, but rather in making itself ungovernable at an acceptable price by that group. It is the dynamics of this process—similar perhaps to one by which American blacks might come to receive some form of political and economic independence—that the Panthers can be expected to study closely in their Algerian bureau. RICHARD W. FOX

(Richard W. Fox, a previous contributor, is presently teaching in Algeria.)

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THE COUNTER CURRICULUM

A spiritual taxonomy of higher education

MYRON B. BLOY, JR.

Higher education developed in a period when the ties between man's existence and essence were strong indeed; the Trivium and Quadrivium were seen as almost transparent windows into the essential order and character of reality. Fulfilling a movement begun in the Renaissance, it became apparent by the nineteenth century, however, that higher education's spiritual mission had become not so much to help men to perceive and tune their lives to the nature of things but rather to free them from all dogmas of essentiality so that they could become autotelic selves, i.e., selves free from any spiritual or moral authority except the individual acquisition of power. Higher education's man of lofty critical detachment was analogous to the self-made captain of industry and the self-sufficient pioneer, and all were manifestations of the autotelic self. The tools which higher education developed for its own role in this cultural assumption were a rigorously analytical approach to knowledge —to its teaching as well as its discovery—and a thorough-going skepticism about all spiritual and moral claims on the self. The academician became a kind of Olympian—master of a seemingly self-generating fragment of knowledge through the analytic tools appropriate to that fragment and secure from the claims of any essentiality, save that of scholarship itself, by a calloused skepticism.

The analytical and detached academic style and the institutions which have developed from it were not only satisfyingly congruent with the isolate, repressed, success-driven self which has been our culture's implicit model of man, but this academic style and its institutions have contributed effectively to the technological revolution created by that culture. In fact, it can be argued that the autotelic self-identity which has grown out of the Renaissance was really a necessary function of man's struggle to dominate a threatening environment and that the shaping of man's intelligence to an intensely analytical and coolly detached instrument is a part of that total purpose. But for all practical purposes, in principle and psychologically, man has overcome the threat of nature and now has the elbow-room and leverage to shape himself to a more authentic identity, one which is less emotionally repressed and more responsive to the great challenge of the new age, namely, of living together in a global village.

It is now becoming apparent, however, that the liberation of man's intelligence from every dogma of essentiality has been accomplished at the price of so severely abstracting the self from the full range of human experience that commitment to a commanding vision of authentic life is nearly impossible. The university is an institution immensely skilled in helping to free man *from* the physical and metaphysical bondages of his past but at the ironic price of rendering him almost incapable of committing that hard-won freedom *to* anything but the rigid continuance of that same defensive task. Not only is the university, captive of its own liberal identity, unable to discover and commit itself to a positive vision of authentic life, but this very self-captivity makes it the easy prey of other institutions which conceive their ends more positively, even if those ends are simply cruder versions of the culture's nihilistic condition. Thus, American industry and the Department of Defense have found it relatively easy to treat higher education as part of their own research and development enterprises, and

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now, even when some universities are attempting to bring their resources to bear on the urban crisis, they invariably do it at the direction of the political establishment rather than with the poor and dispossessed who often must fight that same establishment in order to win their rights.

The most effective captor of higher education is, however, the prevailing social structure itself which has made the university an effective instrument of socialization according to its needs. In effect, our colleges and universities are covert finishing schools, giving those who participate in them not only the intellectual tools and certification but also the rhetorical and social skills and "contacts" for success in a stratified society of haves and have-nots. This stratification is tacitly assumed and thereby silently affirmed by the university, positively by teaching a life-style which tends to remove students permanently from any communication with or concern for the dispossessed and negatively by so fragmenting the search for truth and the very face of reality that it becomes difficult for the initiate ever to perceive again the actual condition of man in our time. Furthermore, the university is generally unable to perceive its captivity to the power structure of society because the myth of the autotelic self has led it to believe that it is, in fact, free from any value-contamination by the larger society and that it should remain so. It is, in short, self-deluded.

I remember a talk given recently by a professor of biology who is reputed to be a great teacher, in which he related an experience intended to shock the audience about the outrageous ideas of students today. He had been asked by a group of freshmen in one of his university's dormitories to participate in a panel discussion on higher education and when his turn came he told the students that the only way to make the most of their education was to give themselves totally to whatever discipline they chose, to become humble disciples of its objective demands. The students responded with anger, seeing in his advice a cop-out from their larger responsibilities as human beings, one even going so far as to accuse him of being a neo-fascist. This, said the eminent professor, was an example of the lack of intellectual discipline of the young; their anger, he felt, was absurd because, while he agreed it was important to express concern for the disadvantaged in extra-curricular ways, higher education per se should remain free from particular value commitments. The academic ethnocentrism of this scholar reveals both aspects of the university's captivity: it is the captive of an implicit norm for the self which is no longer responsive to the spiritual needs of our time—a norm, moreover, so empty of positive direction that more decisive powers of our culture can bend it to their own ends.

The story also illustrates the fact that a growing proportion of students have been cured of higher education's norm of the autotelic self, seeing in its vision of the isolate and harshly-focused self the very face of nihilism. The cure began in the early '50s when SNCC began its civil rights drive in the South. Students, most of them white, from major institutions of higher education in every part of the country, joined black students in their sit-ins, freedom-rides and organization efforts for civil rights. When they came back to their campuses, they were alive in a new way, and other students, who until then hadn't known how dead their own lives were, found this new life contagious. Those of us who were closely involved with students at that time could see this remarkable spiritual rebirth taking place in scores of individuals. Where the students of the '50s had been, in Kenneth Keniston's words, privatized, passive, powerless and uncommitted, we now began to see more and more students who, to use some later words of Keniston, had grown towards a "universalization of identity." That is, they had discovered that it was possible for their lives to be radically open to the lives of others, especially the dispossessed, and *this,* they began to realize, was what it meant to be authentically human. Although the new consciousness which is evolving out of this perception is still too formative to specify with any exactitude, Ignazio Silone, in his "The Choice of Companions" indicates the kind of conclusions towards which they are moving. He asks, after reviewing the ravages of Nihilism in contemporary culture,

> "In spite of everything then, is there anything left?"
>
> "Yes, there are some unshakable certainties. These, in my belief, are Christian certainties. They seem to me to be so built into human reality that man disintegrates when he denies them. This is not enough to constitute a profession of faith, but it will do as a declaration of confidence. . . It is supported by the certainty that we men are free and responsible beings; it is supported by the certainty that man has an absolute need of an opening into the reality of others; and it is supported by the certainty that spiritual communication is possible. If this is so, is it not an irrefutable proof of the brotherhood of man? This certainty also contains a rule of life. From it is born a love of the oppressed which no historical failure can put in doubt, since no vested interest is involved. Its validity does not depend on success. With these certainties which are fundamental to existence how can one resign oneself to witnessing man's potentialities snuffed out in the most humble and unfortunate? How can one consider moral a life that is deaf to this fundamental commitment?"

It is precisely this growing consciousness of the brotherhood of man among the young which is challenging higher education's myth of the autotelic self. The struggle is not merely between doctrines either but,

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rather, between assumptions about the nature of the self which are each incarnate in a life-style, a culture; it is a struggle between culture and counter culture, as Theodore Roszak has pointed out and as I attempted to develop in a *Commonweal* article ["Culture and Counter Culture"] last January.

If the discrete self of higher education's myth is being fundamentally challenged by the universalization of identity among the students, the emotional repression necessary to realize that myth's ideal of the self is also being challenged by a more open, sentient, and holistic life-style. This side of the challenge is represented most radically by the hippies, but, as any observer of the scene will see, the whole counter culture is hippie-ized. Music, poetry, art in various combinations and media, experiments in sexual, familial and communal relationships, a playful spontaneity and a serious regard for every level of being are all part of the counter culture.

Some persons argue that the neighbor-love of the political activists of the counter culture is sharply contrary to the new delight in the self, the self-love, of its more culturally-oriented members, but this is not true. The students have instinctively re-discovered the old spiritual and new psychoanalytic axiom that self-love is a necessary condition for mature neighbor-love, or, to put it another way, that a man, to be authentic, must learn how to love his neighbor *as* himself. (I realize, of course, that the public manifestations of the counter culture do not always seem to reveal a recovery of the perception that man is made for love. This is so for several reasons; first, any dramatic movement of the spirit always attracts a number of persons who use its life to shore up their own nihilistic drives—they adopt the movement's outer signs but they are really spiritual traitors; second, those of us who have been shaped by the myth of the autotelic self distort what we see because we are secretly fearful of the flamboyant, aggressive, arational passion of love; thirdly, the counter culture, like every revolutionary movement, is always in danger of unconsciously reflecting the values of the culture with which it is struggling—thus, the spiritual and psychological repressiveness of the traditional myth of higher education is reflected in the political repressiveness one sometimes encounters in the student movement. Despite these caveats, I have no doubt that the certainties of which Silone speaks are also the certainties, the spiritual reality, which implicitly motivate the counter culture.)

To summarize the discussion so far, I have argued that the basic problem of higher education is its commitment, implicit but formative, to the autotelic self, a commitment which is now being challenged, and thereby revealed for what it is, by youth's recovery of the perception that man is made for love—for a shared rather than an isolate identity, for a whole rather than a self-repressive psyche. It remains now to sketch briefly what higher education might look like if this new spiritual commitment were to shape its life. (I realize, of course, that a given "objective spirit"—to use Hegel's term—can be incarnated in a variety of forms, even though each form will bear a family resemblance to others born of the same spirit. My own description, therefore, does not claim to be a unique educational embodiment of the new spiritual commitment of the young, but it would, I expect, bear a family resemblance to other such embodiments.)

The traditional categories of knowledge, i.e., the disciplines, and the traditional structures and styles of teaching and learning look odd indeed from the perspective of Silone's—and contemporary youth's—"certainties" that men are free and responsible beings, that they have an "absolute need of an opening into the reality of others," that this "spiritual communication *is* possible," and that, therefore, the "love of the oppressed," those upon whom the *denial* of spiritual communication is most severely laid, is man's "fundamental commitment." Knowledge should, in short, be organized to serve this fundamental commitment, and teaching and learning should be a function of a mutual effort on the part of junior and senior colleagues, i.e., students and faculty, to become more effective agents for this mission. Thus, this commitment entails not merely applying the existing educational ethos and forms to more socially useful ends but, rather, a radical restructuration of the ethos and forms to embody that commitment. In fact, the growing attempts to aim the existing educational establishment, with its built-in autotelic commitment, at more socially useful ends has only served to reveal the contradiction between such means and ends. For example, when the Harvard-MIT Joint Center for Urban Studies recently announced receipt of a large grant for research on ghetto problems, the ghetto community of Boston countered with a public announcement that they would henceforth not allow themselves to be used in such research which they recognized as essentially the means for the scholarly advancement of Joint Center personnel. With the distinction between superficial reform (putting meringue on the garbage pail) and radical restructuration in mind, some possible marks of an educational process shaped by the new commitment of the counter culture can be listed.

In the first place, knowledge would be categorized by critical missions we face in responding to the need of the oppressed: the healing of racism, the equitable distribution of the world's wealth, the restructuring of the corporate power of the nation towards peaceful ends, the creation of a less psychologically and spiritually repressive culture, etc. Within these mission-determined categorizations, the traditional disciplines would be seen to have an instrumental value in bringing certain habits of mind and pieces of a given puzzle to bear with other habits and pieces on a given problem. As Jencks and Riesman point out, the shape of undergraduate educa-

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tion is now merely an implicate of the drive of disciplinary professionals to create more disciplinary professionals. But in a mission-oriented education, disciplines would become servants, rather than ends, of the educational process, and the focused study of them would be more the province of some graduate programs rather than of undergraduate education.

Furthermore, when education is mission-oriented not all of its teachers will be disciplinary savants. After all, who understands the needs of the poor better than the poor, or the effects of racism better than racial minorities? Or, as Lawrence Howard of the Danforth Foundation points out in "Black Consciousness and Higher Education," who has grappled more consistently with the growing problem of leisure time than the hard-core jobless or who has more to teach about the joys and sufferings of living in the densely populated urban world of the future than those who presently live in ghettos? In mission-oriented education, disciplinary knowledge, even in interdisciplinary form, is only one of the necessary ingredients.

The new curriculum would also encourage the imagination to be projective rather than retrospective. For

example, teams of students and faculty would join in the creation and, where possible, testing of models for social and cultural alternatives to the present arrangements. The understanding of received knowledge and skills would not, as presently, be an end in itself, therefore tacitly assuming the right to existence of the status quo, but would, rather, assume instrumental importance for helping to shape the new society and culture.

Finally, although I have chosen here to discuss educational reform *per se*, rather than the intricate problems involved in the political, social and economic relations of the academic institution to its environment, the importance of these relations for education should not be overlooked. Many people have pointed out the immediate effect that institutional investments and the acceptance of corporate and government grants have on specific educational policy, but I do not believe it is pointed out often enough that these institutional relations form, in effect a macrometaphor of the spiritual assumptions of the institution. Thus, these institutional relations are a kind of invisible curriculum within which the student lives and by which, day by day, his attitudes are subtly shaped. Clearly, if an institution's educational practice is to be shaped by love of the dispossessed, then so must its relations with its environment.

But if, as I believe, spiritual communication between free and responsible men necessarily assumes such communication with ourselves too, and if our consequent calling to love the dispossessed must be "as yourself," then the curricular picture is even more complex. Just as the education to create autotelic selves is dependent on a rigorous training in self-repression, so the education to make individuals into neighbors is dependent on guidance in self-enhancement, in making neighbors, rather than enemies, of our selves. We are clearly in deep water here, but the very nature of love requires us to risk it. Many of Jesus' parables are focused precisely on men who have used the rituals and acts of love for, strictly speaking, self-defensive ends, as a kind of hedge against opening *themselves* to the power of love; think only of the Elder Son in the story of the Prodigal Son or of the Pharisee who said, "God, I thank thee that I am not like other men, extortioners, unjust, adulterers, or even like this tax collector. I fast twice a week, I give tithes of all that I get." It is only by accident that good effects can ensue from such good men.

What, then, would an educational process look like which is focused not only on preparing students for the external tasks which "love of the dispossessed" might require but also on helping them to become more open to experience, capable of a greater range of expression, more deeply and securely in communication with themselves, and, in short, more able to accept the personal demands and risks of spiritual communication, of love? For one thing, study of the arts and of literature would see paintings and poems more as models and inspirations for one's own expression than as objects for scholarly categorization. A goodly portion of a course in, say, metaphysical poetry would be devoted to writing poems in that style so that one's own expressive range and consciousness would be enlarged by that of Donne and Herbert. The same principle would apply to painting, music and films. But the greatest barrier to sentiency in our culture is fear and distrust of our bodies, and so the curriculum I propose would place great emphasis on kinesthetic expression; dancing would be as important in the curriculum as freshman composition. Furthermore, some Esalen-type techniques— trust walks, yoga, meditation, non-verbal communication games, etc.— would be a regular part of the curriculum. Celebrations, rituals, parades, chanting would also be a part of this scene. It would be understood that the purpose of these activities is basically to expand the range of one's self-expression and, therefore, of one's self-understanding; they would be implicitly skeptical of that Cartesian dualism which now severely cramps the lives of all who exist in educational establishments and which emasculates the concept of "education" itself.

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It would be further understood that the personal dimensions of "spiritual communication," with oneself or others, can only be learned in a community which includes a variety of life-styles, including especially those which at any given present are in fact expanding man's consciousness. Educators often say that the purpose of higher education is to expand the consciousness of man, but what they really mean is to *extend* the consciousness of man in the severely limited terms of the Enlightenment. In our time it is apparent that the most exciting *expansion* of consciousness is in the black consciousness movement. Black Americans, through the distance from the dominant culture that their hate established, through their ability to dissemble, through their marginality to the economic system, have been able to husband carefully a life-style, a culture which is a real alternative to the dominant, so-called "middle-class," culture. Now, this culture is being celebrated by its constituents and any educational community which is not at pains to bring all its members into a learning relationship with this culture is derelict in its responsibility. The experience of cultural pluralism is a necessary ingredient in preparing persons for spiritual communication, for love.

One final point. Whenever a proposal to restructure the university according to certain values is brought up, academic conservatives always see in it a threat to "academic freedom." Such a threat has been imputed to this proposal, and so it is important to respond to it directly. To begin with the freedom of the academy is a relative matter since no human institution exists without normative sanctions. The important questions concern, rather, which sanctions are most appropriate for higher education at a given point in history and whether their application leaves sufficient room for deviancy. The isolate, success-driven, repressed self-identity which has shaped the socialization and intellectual processes of traditional higher education has, in fact, served man well in his drive to subdue and turn to his purposes a threatening natural world, but, we are beginning to see, this end has been accomplished at great spiritual cost. Although a certain ethnocentric self-delusion still prevents many educational leaders from seeing the oftentimes brutal intolerance of traditional higher education for deviancy from its normative sanctions, the spiritual rebellion of the counter culture has begun to provide the necessary foil for their enlightenment. The content of this spiritual rebellion—what I have called "youth's recovery of the perception that man is made for love—for a shared rather than isolate identity, for a whole rather than self-repressed psyche" is also, in fact, much more responsive to the critical needs of man today, i.e., for the creation of an equitable world community and for the development of a more fulfilling style of life. Finally, as normative sanctions for higher education the spiritual assumptions of brotherhood and expressiveness are hardly likely to be more coercive than the existent ones of competitive individualism and self-repression.

Although this brief sketch is anything but adequate as a well-fleshed and structured picture of an educational alternative, it may be enough to suggest the contours which higher education would assume if it incarnated the spirit of expressive brotherhood rather than that of the autotelic self. My belief is that, regardless of the weight one assigns to the particular conclusions of the foregoing analysis, this *kind* of analysis is a necessity for the reform of higher education. Without some clarity concerning the spiritual assumptions embodied in the present system of higher education we remain hopelessly naive concerning our condition, and without clarifying alternative assumptions and the forms they might take, we lack the concrete vision to guide and test our efforts at reform.

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ROBLEY WILSON, JR.

THE SNAKE

Reports were various:
that it was diamond-backed,
that it wore a design
like new bicycle tires,
that it was solid black.
Some said its tongue was red,
some yellow; others said
grimly they hadn't dared
stand close enough to see.
Some claimed it made a noise:
like a cicada's song,
like gravel under wheels,
like things inside the walls;
others answered with scorn
it made no sound except
itself in the dry grass.
The single certainty
was that it had appeared.
The first time, it was coiled
under the lowest limbs
the spruce leans to the lawn;
later and more than once
it was observed close by
the corner juniper,
not far from the downspout.
The final evidence
is this transparency,
its former skin. Save it;
it is the souvenir
we show the neighbor boys
and want them jealous of.
Look how we study it,
brooding inside our selves
of no such memento.

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GOOD-BYE, HARVARD

'69 Commencement reconsidered

DAVID R. PAPKE

The June commencement at Harvard promised to be different from the usual stageshow presented in time-honored Harvard Yard. Perhaps for the first time since Emerson addressed the Divinity School graduates in 1838, the whole affair might actually be interesting—even for those who were graduating! At least such were my hopes as I prepared for what my parents insisted on calling the "big day."

My optimism was based on SDS's promise that the normally lethargic proceedings would be animated by red armbands, student walkouts, clenched fists, and even a violent seizure of the microphone. It sounded like a veritable carnival based on commitment, and I looked forward to it as a fitting way to leave Harvard. Of course, the chubby alumni were looking forward to the day for different reasons. With reactionary glee, they were hoping University President Nathan Pusey would squash the final act in the Harvard version of the student springtime follies 1969. Certainly old Nate had given promise through past actions that he might do just that.

The whole day began for me when I picked up my parents at their hotel. It had been their first extended trip to Boston, and for the past week I had felt absolutely parental leading them around. They were continually demanding time to rest, dragging behind, and expressing surplus amazement at sites I considered everyday. It was different the morning of commencement, though. Armed with cameras, umbrellas, and eager smiles, they were ready and waiting for me.

First on the list of events was the commencement itself. It was held in the so-called Tercentenary Theater, an outdoor section of Harvard Yard, capable of seating 12,000. Most of the seats were behind trees or a few hundred yards from the stage, and it was already evident by the 9 AM starting time that it was going to be quite hot. These factors did not hold down the attendance, however. Nor did the fact that the whole thing was rained out the year before. The local newspapers predicted the atmosphere would be ideal for a fullscale riot, and of course, no deserving suburbanite would miss a chance to see real violence and bloodshed.

The seniors were scheduled to walk in first, line the aisles, and doff their caps when President Pusey and the dignitaries walked by. Naturally, when old Nate did appear, caps were pulled on tighter rather than removed. I smiled to myself and looked around at all the red armbands. It looked like the excitement was just beginning.

The stage was elaborately arranged with grey-haired, cherubic-looking Pusey in the middle. He was surrounded by the Board of Overseers, the honorary degree recipients, and the class marshals. It was a depressingly pretentious set-up, typical of the aristocratic artificiality which is struggling for its life in the Ivy League. Representing the forces struggling to put that artificiality out of its misery were those seniors smoking pot in the third row of the audience.

My biggest hope was that the superficial serenity of the whole affair would be shattered by a snatching of the microphone from beneath President Pusey's upturned nose. It was never to occur, however. Instead the program began with the announcement that an SDS member was to be allowed to speak. The University had conceded on this demand, and the seizure was called off. Unfortunately the speaker was Progressive Laborite Bruce Allen, a senior who had been expelled from school for his participation in the occupation of a building. Wearing a dark suit and puffing a cigarette madly, he delivered a speech that was so bad the walk-out almost took place a little earlier than planned. Many of the concerned students who had donned red arm-bands were, quite frankly, embarrassed to be associated with the buffoon on stage.

It was sad to see the walkout fizzle, but my hopes for an exciting commencement were restored somewhat by the speakers who followed Allen. Law student Meldon Levine was particularly good. He began his oration with a blatantly obnoxious condemnation of Russia and a praise of law and order; his comments were met by smiles from the Overseers and cheers from the alumni and parents. Levine then identified the words as a direct quotation from Adolf Hitler. The senior class rose in unison to applaud Levine for his trickery.

After Levine, however, the pace slowed considerably, and the audience was forced to endure a few of Harvard's more archaic traditions. First, a pale senior who looked like he had spent the last four years in the classics library, delivered the yearly Latin oration. All he received from a very non-Roman audience was blank stares, shuffling feet, and a smattering of applause. Next, one

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poor senior delivered the "commencement ode" which he had written. He prefaced his reading by pointing out that T. S. Eliot had the same honor at his Harvard graduation. In later years Eliot had always been first to admit his ode was not one of his best efforts. The odist of the 1969 class hastened to repeat Eliot's confession in self-defense. Then he read the work and thereby proved his assessment correct. It was, I'm sorry to say, an odious ode.

Those Honorary Degrees

The next feature on the program was the awarding of the honorary degrees. The recipients included David Rockefeller, John Lindsay, Walter Reuther and Marianne Moore among others. Looking at them assembled on the stage, I discovered that only Miss Moore failed to annoy me. That was probably for two reasons: she was really old, and she was a poet. As the school newspaper later pointed out, former President Harry Truman failed to be honored for the 25th consecutive year since he became President.

Next, degrees were presented to the graduate students. Each school was called to the stage in a group in order to save time, but it was still a long and boring procedure. The only bright spot came when the business school graduates came forward and were greeted by a chorus of boos from the anti-capitalist senior class.

After the graduate degrees were presented, the seniors were asked to rise in a group. President Pusey said a few words as if baptizing the multitude, and we all officially graduated. I suppose it was the time for me to be thinking about taking my place in the world and other similarly noble things. However, since I realized what the condition of the world was and since I didn't particularly want a place in it, my thoughts were elsewhere.

For some reason I was thinking of how the only thing my future definitely held was a stint in the Army. In fact, for a brief moment I even imagined General Hershey on the stage. There he was, wearing an Army uniform decorated with death awards and pointing the ultimate index finger in my direction. Since the poetry reading I had been willing to settle for a palatable day, but now even that looked dubious.

I rejoined my parents who were fluttering all over the place, snapping their silly Kodak, and crooning about how four years of hard work had finally paid off. I have to admit I enjoyed their bother, and I even decided to tolerate them for a few minutes. They stretched my tolerance level, however, by demanding that I sit in the lap of the John Harvard statue for a picture. Sometimes I wonder if parents will ever grow up!

Because of ambitious scheduling, reunion and commencement weeks coincided, and the 25- and 50-year reunion groups actually lived in the vacant dormitory rooms which generally belong to underclassmen. This meant we lived right next-door to the alumni and their families for a week. If anyone wanted to see a massive example of the generation gap in the flesh, there it was. The seniors' mistresses got to know alumni's wives and teenaged children of alumni joined us in "shooting the moon."

As if in a medieval jousting tournament, the two groups even had conflicting insignia. The seniors wore wrinkled red arm-bands, the alumni silly white sailor hats. When we saw a white hat bobbing up the steps, we stopped talking. When they saw a red arm-band approaching, they looked the other way. Someone even suggested it was like the red and the white in "Dr. Zhivago," but I found the comparison a little farfetched. After all, the Russian white forces, even if they did oppose the red, were still concerned with reform. No one could seriously accuse the Harvard alumni of similar sentiments.

During the whole week I had spoken with an alumnus only once. Late one night I happened to pass the site of the Tenth Reunion Dance. An inebriated alumnus threw a commemorative matchbook at me and called out, "Here, use that to light your pot." I was about to thank him sarcastically, but before I could, my roommate tossed the book back saying, "Sorry, our toilet doesn't burn."

The Alumni Pit

The final event on commencement day was the annual meeting of the Associated Harvard Alumni. It started at 3 p.m. and was to be held in the same outdoor area as the morning program. My roommates decided to pass up this affair—even though Stewart Udall was speaking!! Perhaps because of masochistic tendencies, I decided to attend.

Each graduating class was to march into the outdoor theater as a group, with the oldest coming first. That meant one 95-year-old gent took the lead. The poor fellow looked absolutely ancient, but he grinned from ear to ear as he marched in carrying the "Class of 1896" banner. I wondered how he felt a few years after his graduation when America invaded Cuba. Was there any anti-war sentiment in the Harvard class of '96?

The biggest alumni groups marching in were of course those from the years 1919 and 1944, the 50th and 25th reunion groups. The 50th reunions are reportedly sad affairs because the alumni involved are approaching death and realize that they are saying goodbye in a real sense. Looking at the 50th reunion group, I noticed that almost all of them were rather slim. I guess those that were heavy had already perished from a variety of cardiovascular diseases. I felt the roll hanging over my belt, and I shuddered a little.

Rather than march in under the "Class of 1969" banner, I had decided to sit with my parents off to the

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side. It proved to be a fortunate decision because when my year's contingent appeared, it numbered a grand total of six. Of that number, two had crew cuts and one an ROTC uniform. It was a weak group to say the least. One of my friends had somehow joined them, but I noticed he was trying to edge up under the "Class of 1969" banner. I was happy to be sitting in the shade with my parents.

The program began with the thirteen different five-year reunion groups announcing their contributions to the college fund. The highlight of this financially pompous section of the show was the announcement that the 50th reunion group had broken the all-time record; the smiling septuagenarians from the class of 1919 had come up with a total of $827,000. In addition, the overall total of $3.4 million was an alltime high, and to my surprise, even my own class had come up with $11,500. Whatever the results of student turmoil in the Ivy, it was not a reduction in the contributions to the college fund. I'm still not sure if that fact is comforting, irritating, or just plain unimportant.

Nate Pusey also made his appearance at the alumni gathering. Unlike the morning commencement when he tried to look calm and understanding for the benefit of the students, he now looked stern and determined in order to pacify the alumni. He jumped quickly from condemning protesting students to praising successful alumni. The alumni liked hearing themselves praised, so they clapped wildly. I doubt if they would have responded in the same manner to some remarks made by John Kenneth Galbraith a few days earlier. Speaking in a televised interview, JKG had noted, "The only thing wrong with college students is that they eventually become alumni."

After Pusey, Jean Rey took the stage and talked about the United States of Europe. My parents and I had trouble understanding him because of his Belgian accent —if there is such a thing! Then Udall spoke, and to my surprise, his remarks concerned the quality of American life rather than water pollution and squirrels. In an eloquent fashion he pleaded for our country to be an Athens rather than a Sparta. His words were so true that for a brief moment I even regained some of my childish faith in the older generation. But then, I looked around, and my faith regained was destroyed. My father was falling asleep, my mother was reading my yearbook, and the class of 1954 was circulating reunion pictures to be autographed. The old gent from the class of 1896 had already left.

Elderly complacency was painfully apparent. Udall knew what the score was, but no one seemed to hear his message. Oh, he received thunderous applause when he finished, but it was basically a conditioned response. Harvard alumni, like most other people over 30, are content with the middle of the road. Moving along that road is unimportant. The most important things in their lives are the orderly arrival of their *Time* every Tuesday and their golf every Saturday.

As the entire audience rose to sing "Fair Harvard" at the end of the program, I started to leave. My parents tagged behind and didn't even realize my early exit was slightly sacrilegious. My last day at Harvard was finished.

Neither a student-faculty war, nor a community of scholars

POWER TO THE STUDENTS

DAVID J. O'BRIEN

A short time ago I was asked by a group of college students to participate in a symposium on the theme "The Great Man in History." Among the topics were Charlemagne, Marx, Mao Tse tung, and "Students," the last assigned to me. I was at first puzzled by the inclusion of "Students" in the series but, with remarkable tolerance and infinite patience, the student leaders explained to me that what concerned them was the relationship between men and their times, whether, that is, the great man, or any man, makes history, or whether history makes him. Students, anxious to know personally and collectively, whether they can make history, naturally ask of themselves the question heretofore posed of individual great men. This is implicit in their concern with student power, for power is not simply, as the "realists" would have it, the influence of men over things or other men; rather power is the ability to act and not simply be acted upon. Do today's students have that ability to act? Can they, should they, make history?

On its most profound level the question is the old one of freedom and fate, of determination and free will. The presence of the students and myself in school, our common conviction that it is good for us to meet together, to exchange ideas, to argue and dispute, is by implication a commitment to an answer: that there is at least a nar-

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row area of freedom open to us, and that our task is to broaden that area. Many of our contemporaries, in the deepest recesses of their beings, believe, in Tocqueville's words, "that men are not their own masters here below and that they obey . . . some insurmountable and unintelligent forces arising from anterior events." "These are false and cowardly doctrines," Tocqueville responded, "which can never produce anything but feeble men and craven nations. Providence didn't create mankind either entirely independent or completely in servitude. It traced, it is true, around every man a fatal circle that he cannot leave, but within that vast confine man is powerful and free, and so are nations."

Tocqueville's faith has never been more severely challenged than it is today. Most acutely the problem of human freedom is posed by the increasing importance of technology in the lives of men everywhere. If men lack understanding of themselves and their society and if they lack the will to make history, then history, in the form of technology and bureaucratic structures, will make them, and make them more directly and more completely than ever before seemed possible.

If this is an accurate assessment, then the most basic values which scholars and teachers must hold are severely threatened. Those of us who take seriously the life of the mind must believe in the possibilities of human reason and the potentiality of human freedom, for without freedom, reason cannot function, and without reason, education is absurd. These are values that must inform our work as scholars, as teachers, as men, and others have the right to insist that we stand behind those values, that we are not neutral on them, that we will fight to preserve and extend them. This commitment is intimately linked to our common sense of history. "Our interest in history," C. Wright Mills has written, "is not owing to any view that the future is inevitable, that the future is bounded by the past. . . . We study history to discern the alternatives within which human reason and human freedom can now make history." The making of history is the final justification of our work, and of the institutions we use—the universities—and the ability to make history is the true meaning of that word "power" which circulates so widely today.

The Possibilities

Is student power possible? Should students have the ability to act or should their actions be carefully circumscribed? The beginning of an answer may be found in a story. In the 1830s when the moral question of the abolition of slavery was agitating the United States, a group of theological students at Lane Seminary demanded use of the chapel to discuss the slavery issue. The faculty opposed the discussion but did not forbid it, and for eighteen days the students debated the problem, concluding in the end for the abolitionist position. Their vigorous work among the black population of Cincinnati disturbed the Trustees who met the following summer and prohibited further discussion of slavery at Lane. The students upon their return protested and withdrew to Oberlin College, which became a training ground for abolitionist preachers who subsequently evangelized the Northwest, laying the groundwork for the repudiation of slavery which culminated in the Civil War.

The Lane Seminary rebels represented a recurrent theme in nineteenth century American education. The colleges and universities, founded, like Harvard, to perpetuate the religious traditions of a dangerously mobile, independent, and rootless people, had also been intended to produce prophets, men inspired to recall their fellows from worldly preoccupations to the insistent demands of a stern and righteous God. As the colleges, like the churches which fostered them, accommodated themselves to the demands of the new society, the prophetic tradition did not die out, but arose time and again to remind men of the original intention of extirpating sin, fulfilling the divine plan, and building the Kingdom of God here in this new land. The churches and the colleges, however much they departed from the ideals of their founders, could never entirely forget that they had been dedicated to shaping in America, a new Zion.

Yet the prophetic dimension of American religion which was so intimately related to the birth of higher education could hardly withstand the pressures of material promise and social freedom. Democratization was difficult for the church but it was disastrous for the college. "As to the influence which the intellect of one man can have on that of another," Tocqueville noted in *Democracy in America*, "it must necessarily be very limited in a country where the citizens, placed on an equal footing, are all closely seen by each other; and where, as no sign of uncontestable greatness or superiority are perceived in any one of them, they are constantly brought back to their own reason as the most obvious and proximate source of truth. It is not only confidence in this or that man that is destroyed, but the disposition for trusting the authority of any man whatsoever."

Early American higher education suffered from this popular distrust of learning, and its emphasis on classical and religous instruction seemed to the public, and to many of the students, irrelevant to the real needs of the growing nation, a luxurious sport on the hectic, rough and tumble life of a raw, individualistic society. The colleges' design and rules reinforced the isolation of scholars and students. Heavy doses of prayer and sermons were supposed to curb the student's natural sinfulness, while the curriculum was geared to training his mental faculties by concentration on languages, scripture, and a hodgepodge of moral philosophy. Indeed some college teachers were truly anti-intellectual, like the President of Dartmouth who said in 1828: "The very cultivation of the intellect has frequently a tendency to impair the moral

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sensibilities, to induce the pride of conscious ability and variety of attainments which . . . are affections offensive to God."

This situation was transformed in the late nineteenth century by two major developments. The introduction of the elective system, "liberty in education," substituted for the rigid prescriptions the new breadth of course selection and a degree of specialization which accorded well with business' new-found need for trained specialists and the student's own desire for economic mobility in an increasingly urbanized, industrialized society. German style graduate education, complete with seminars, Ph.D.s, detailed scientific research, and the cult of scientific method and scholarly objectivity, fostered further specialization, brought new standards of intellectual excellence, raised the prestige, power, and status of professors, and eroded the moral and religious foundations of the collegiate model. Business and the state, and later the graduate school itself, set the standards and dictated the organization of undergraduate education. The distinctiveness and autonomy of undergraduate education were destroyed as the higher learning was reformed in accord with the needs of society and the aspirations of students.

To some extent these changes broadened the area of student freedom. Judged in the classroom on the basis of his academic performance rather than his deportment and decorum, free to pursue the program of his choosing, increasingly able to learn about the structure and operation of his own society, the student could, conceivably, achieve an education far superior to that available in the older colleges. On the other hand, the rapid expansion of many universities in the last half century led to the growth of professional student service departments staffed by deans and counsellors who hoped to assist students in their adjustment to the demands of a sophisticated bureaucratic society.

Implicit in the growth of the para-academic establishment was a contempt for students that had deep roots in American higher education. It was Thomas Cooper of ante-bellum South Carolina College who exclaimed: "Republicanism is good but the idea of the rights of boys and girls is the offspring of democracy gone mad," while a Davidson professor remarked in 1855 that "the American student comes to college . . . with an undisciplined mind and an uncultivated heart, yet with exalted ideas of personal dignity, and a scowling contempt for all lawful authority and wholesome restraint. How is he to be controlled?"

A report presented a century later by two deans from the University of Minnesota indicated that such sentiments were far from dead. Students, they argued, "are the responsibility, you might even call them the wards of the institution. They have the freedom that the institution is willing to grant them."

No matter how liberal the benevolence of the university may be, the fact remains that freedom's limits for the students are almost always defined from the outside. "Most Americans," Henry Steele Commager writes, "persist in thinking of college students as children who must be provided with intellectual, physical and moral guidance to fit them for just the kind of world they have come out of and will go back into, and who must be protected against ideas or associations which might make them discontented with that world and reluctant to conform to it."

Always a bit behind, always seeking to accommodate traditional values of culture, religion and learning to new demands within and without, the American university has been more passive than active, less a maker of history than the object of history-making forces in a dynamic and fluid country. As a result the student in the modern college or university is encompassed within a system which contains many cross-purposes and lacks a central unity. Told by his parents and secondary school teachers that entry into college is a high privilege and a great opportunity, that his years there will be the most crucial of his life, he discovers a reality far removed from the promise. He discovers that college carries no automatic guarantee of status or independence, that he is not necessarily admitted into an elite. As Martin Meyerson puts it, "The college student is no longer one of the happy few—he is one of the frustrated many. . . . He cannot afford not to go to college; college education is as necessary to him as secondary schooling, and has not much more standing than secondary schooling did a generation ago."

While they are physically and emotionally adult, college students exist on the fringe of adult society. They are, as Kenneth Keniston points out, psychological adults and sociological adolescents, lacking the full integration into society's institutional structures which is characteristic of adult life. Despite the best efforts of Deans of Students, they are not even fully integrated into the university itself. And the university, while it serves as a processing medium for the integration of the student into society, still retains the archaism of academic freedom, providing area of criticism and some commitment to values which run counter to those of the corporation and the individual state.

It is just this conflict between outside pressures and independence from them that makes student radicalism, which is a function of non-integration, possible. In responding to the pressures to integrate them into society, students quite naturally focus upon the university, which is the proximate vehicle for these pressures, and seldom recognize that their very ability and desire to resist largely depend upon that same university.

The student entering the university is confronted with a rhetoric of liberalism: he is "on his own"; he must "accept responsibility"; he must recognize the necessity to learn rather than wait to be taught. But the reality of large classes, bureaucratic controls, pressures of graduate admissions and course requirements, limit his freedom and his ability to accept responsibility even if he would.

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Once he has chosen a school, and a major, he has few meaningful educational choices left.

In the classroom, again quoting Meyerson, "whether the teacher shocks him, or ignores him, or bores him, or is friendly to him, the student is dependent on the teacher's mood and interest." Despite the realization of a generation of educational psychologies of the need to place greatest emphasis on learning by the student rather than on instruction by the teacher, the college, like the primary and secondary school, does everything possible to postpone the thrills of individual thinking and discovery until graduate school, until enough outdated information is transmitted or until the faculties have been disciplined.

Finally the entering student is presented, often for the first time, with a critical perspective on his own society from teachers and other students. In varying degrees he becomes conscious of wide gaps between accepted myths and dogmas and prevailing practice. In the process his religious faith, his confidence in his family, his sense of meaning and identity, are often severely shaken. For many this experience may be offset by fear of family rejection, of poverty or of the shattering implications of of what is dimly perceived, so that avoidance of the problem is easiest. The professional demands of vocational courses, the presence of many uncritical courses and programs, the work of student counsellors, chaplains and deans all help the student avoid the difficulties raised by consciousness of hypocrisy and dishonesty around him. The solidarity and community with which drugs, sex, and alcohol are discovered and enjoyed also help ease the pain and facilitate the transition. Student activism can serve a similar purpose, bringing together a number of young people in search of meaning and supplying the sense of identity and community missing elsewhere. Thus so frequently the movement seems more important than the goal, the euphoria of shared danger more significant than success or failure.

All these features of contemporary university life make it possible for revolt to take place within the university; particular issues serve to precipitate crises. Students who honestly wish to change the situation must recognize the historical dimension of their own experience and of the university itself. Today's university shares in the contradictions of American society, but among its own contradictions is its occasional ability to act creatively and independently of society, to provide a haven for the critical intellect, to promote and defend democratic aspirations, and to represent a greater rationality at odds with the limited rationality of the technological society to which it has so substantially contributed.

Like the church, the university has often betrayed its true values, it has allowed itself to be used by the powers of this world, but it has also sometimes been true to its best ideals, and those ideals remain the basis for reform and reconstruction. It has sought to serve the people and has often served their masters; it has sought to find and speak the truth, and has sometimes shaped truth in its own interests; it has sought to make men free and has often forged for them new chains. Nevertheless it must continue to strive to serve, to find truth and to make men free and if it is to do so, all within the university must accept the task as their personal responsibility.

If the university is to do these things, its leaders must regain the faith that men can, indeed must, govern themselves, which is to say nothing more than that they can be their own men, that they can make decisions, and that they can join with others to solve common problems. Lacking any group or class within the university who can be depended upon to make correct decisions, they must stand with Thomas Jefferson, who rejected the whole ethos of the collegiate way with its stringent prescriptions and rules as early as 1823 in setting up the University of Virginia. "Our institution," Jefferson wrote, "will proceed on the principle of doing all the good it can without consulting its own pride or ambition; of letting everyone come and listen to whatever he thinks may improve the condition of his mind." As for student power, Jefferson had an answer that rings a timely note:

"The rock which I most dread is the discipline of the institution. . . . *The insubordination of our youth is now the greatest obstacle to their education.* We may lessen the difficulty perhaps by avoiding too much government, by requiring no useless observances, none which shall merely multiply occasions for dissatisfaction, disobedience and revolt, by referring to the more discreet of themselves the minor discipline, the graver to the civil magistrates."

The first requirement for the development of student power today is the formation of student identity and solidarity by means of a definition of student rights and freedoms and development of the organization to maintain and defend them. Students must think of themselves first and foremost as students rather than as potential teachers, businessmen or bureaucrats. Only when they are aware of being "intellectual workers" and not simply trainees will they be free to realize the dynamic potentiality of their situation.

To organize students as a force for change in the university and in society, the activist minority must combat the student's natural attention to present distractions and future success. Always alert to the dangers of complacency and apathy, they must use every means at their command to offset the pressures of the media and established authority to convince students that good will and cooperation will solve the world's problems. Like the union organizer, the student leader must insist that comfort granted by the paternalistic, benevolent powers that be is paid for in lost dignity and lost opportunity. In particular, change cannot be sought simply by incorporation into the present university structure, particularly if entry is seen as an expression of a natural campus community.

Instead the first goal must be the vindication through

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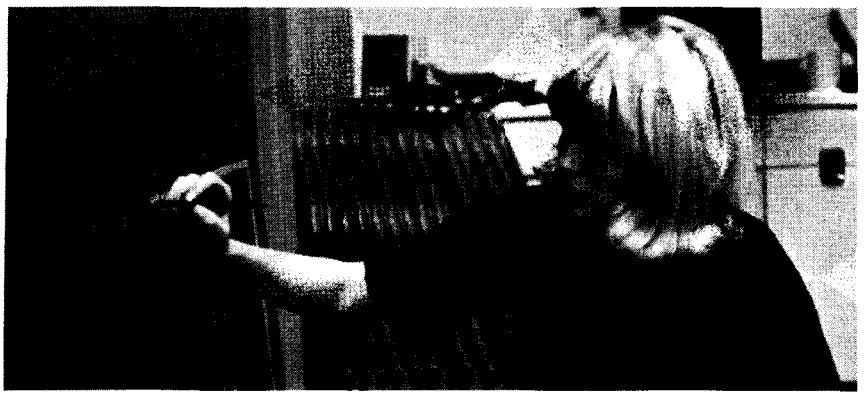
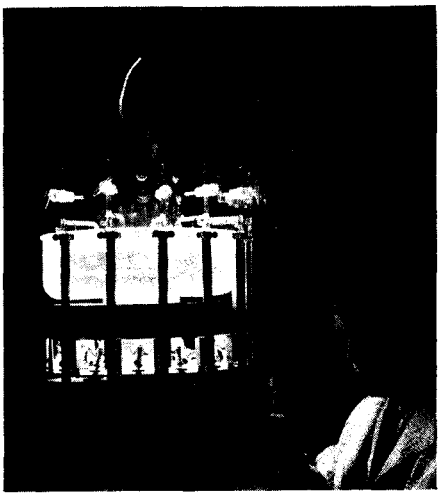
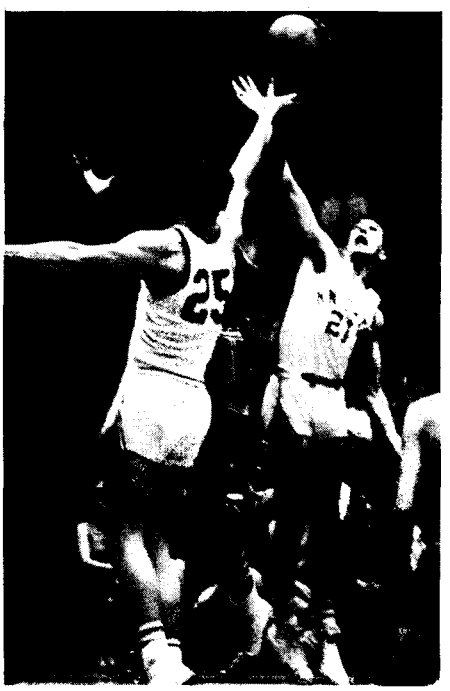
MANY THINGS TO MANY PEOPLE...







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student action of student autonomy: recognition of their claim to be a distinctive group with their own interests and rights. They may find that the most promising avenue of mobilization of students is concentration on the need for freedom from arbitrary and undemocratic procedures within the university. The grading system, judicial procedures which vest student discipline in the hands of faculty and administration, and the student personnel bureaucracy must be fought, a statement of basic exemptions and rights must be adopted, it must not be subject to negotiation, and students must be ready to fight for it. To do so they must avoid division, resist being drawn into a false community of all in the university, and seek to find in their situation the basis for the kind of solidarity described by George Santayana. Students, he wrote, "are like passengers in a ship or fellow countrymen abroad; their sense of common interests and common emotions overwhelms all latent antipathies. They live in a sort of primitive brotherhood, with a ready enthusiasm for every good or bad project, and contagious good humor."

Student participation in university government should not be purchased at the cost of freedom or solidarity. Certain areas of student personal and academic freedom, like that of the faculty, must always remain outside the jurisdiction of the institution, and student associations, locally and nationally, exist to secure these freedoms for the individual student and the student body. The Senate, or any other structure which makes decisions, is a limited body in a limited institution. Its jurisdiction is not total, and it exists to serve its constituent elements, faculty and students, in the promotion of their separate and joint objectives. This suggests that the university is not a miniature state, even a democratic one, but a system of separate levels which sometimes cooperate, sometimes ignore each other, and sometimes have to negotiate. If students are to share in this odd arrangement, they must do so not simply by having some of their number participate in the governing bodies but by developing their collective strength.

The students' role in policy-making should be proportionate to their interest in the decisions being made. Students and faculty have goals and concerns which are the same, goals and concerns which overlap and goals and concerns which are different. Any government structured on the supposition that students and faculty are at war with one another, that the faculty is part of the racist power structure or that the student is a "nigger," for example, will result in the fulfillment of the prophecy—it will lead to war. On the other hand the supposition of a community of scholars, the "Mister Chips" mystique, by denying very real functional and generational differences between teachers and students, will similarly bring disaster. Unnecessary and dishonest sources of division must be removed, but real differences will persist. This means that the grading system, which gives the professor enormous power over the students, must be radically revised, if not destroyed. On the other hand students must not demand the right to dictate hiring, firing, tenure grants, or the content of courses. They cannot substitute for the intimidation of the grade the blackmail of disruption, boycott, or violence.

On the top decision-making bodies, where common concerns and problems are resolved, students and faculty should have parity. Each has a vital interest in decisions on budget, priorities, buildings, and such matters, and each should have equal influence on decisions. In some areas student interests are predominant and faculty should have only a consultative voice: the choice of para-academic personnel like Deans of Students, financial aid officers, athletic and residence directors, together with policy for these officers. In other areas faculty interests predominate and students should have only a consultative role: disposition of research funds, choice of academic deans and department chairmen, hiring and firing of faculty, sabbaticals.

Where interests and concerns overlap, students and faculty should sometimes be equally represented, as on library and admissions committees. Elsewhere overlapping concerns should be negotiated through joint committees and collective bargaining procedures, an approach particularly applicable on the departmental level. There the establishment of an atmosphere of mutual trust, flexibility and openess on both sides will be best insured by maintaining autonomous, separate organizations recognizing the different age levels, professional and personal concerns of both sides. Each is protected by the ultimate weapon of the strike, while social and academic programs, open houses and lounges can facilitate communication and good will.

Such an approach departs significantly from the mythology of the university as a community of scholars, and it brings the problems and processes of politics into the life of the university. The result will not be neat and it will mean permanent conflict and controversy. But in the end the life of the mind to which the university and all those within it are dedicated cannot bring comfort and security, but only alienation and anxiety.

If there is today a real university community which tripartite representation of faculty, students, and administration reflects, it is a community based on the domestication of the intellectual life. It means that university men have accepted society's definition of their role as service through education and research in useful things, that they do not feel they represent anything seriously at variance with society at large. Like the church before it the university has acquired influence and prestige at the cost of a vision of universal validity. The reign of reason and freedom, like the Kingdom of God, has been brought down to earth, where instead of standing in judgment on the world, it sanctifies men and nations obsessed with their own power and success.

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In such a situation cooperation and good will alone will not bring significant change. The task is to rekindle commitment, and thus to reawaken, even to intensify, the conflicts which must beset those dedicated to the realization of high ideals in the world of structures and power. The quest for harmony expressed in the longed-for community of scholars is not only futile but unworthy for it would suppress necessary conflict. Instead, by denying legitimacy to the university as it is and by insisting on the importance of what it might be, by challenging their teachers and their fellow students to take seriously the values they profess, the student activists may yet help us find the way to honesty, perhaps even to wisdom.

As for the rest of us, there are many other reasons for welcoming the drive for student power. The attainment of freedom from arbitrary control and manipulation is a necessary precondition for human dignity, for human development and for education. There are other reasons: the need to provide a model of a self-governing institution capable of reconciling its claim to serve men with the bureaucratic structures necessitated by democratic education; the need to break the vicious cycle of integration of men into an increasingly technologically determined society in order to insure a future in which free men will want to live; the need to learn democracy through its practice.

The challenges which confront this generation are as profound and crucial as any in history. We are, all of us, frightened, frightened of the future, frightened by our society, by many of our fellows, by the potential for evil we must recognize in ourselves. But, as Emerson said, "this time, like all times, is a very good time, if we but know what to do with it." And the university is where the times are being tested, where education and access to the life of the mind may be available for all, where men can gain the knowledge of themselves and their society by which is the basis for the power which belongs to those who can say "I am my own man." If the university, now in full flush of its first real wave of democracy, with students of all classes and races, sometimes seems to be a mess, remember the words of an early American college president: "We cannot be too often reminded that we are making an experiment untried in the progress of human society."

WHO'S MAD NOW?

THE SCREEN

Since I was never too fond of Jean Giraudoux's generally admired stage play, "The Madwoman of Chaillot" (even with wonderful Martita Hunt in the title role when I saw it), I had no great expectations for the movie version. But I hardly expected such a flat movie from such first-rate collection of talent as was assembled for the film.

Bryan Forbes, who directed such gems as "Seance on a Wet Afternoon," "The L-Shaped Room" and "The Whisperers," took over the directorial reins after John Huston, who held them first, rowed with producer Ely Landau. And Forbes had actors to work with who would be any directors dream: Katharine Hepburn as the aging countess who has lived in the past ever since her lover walked out on her years ago, and is now known as the madwoman of Chaillot; Margaret Leighton, Giulietta

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Masina, and Dame Edith Evans as her equally wacky friends who are madwomen of other districts. As the evil conspirators in a powerful organization that is determined to become more powerful by grabbing the oil they are certain is under Paris are: Paul Henreid as the army general, Charles Boyer as a stockbroker, Oscar Homolka as a capitalistic communist, Donald Pleasence as the crafty prospector who discovered the oil, Yul Brynner as the biggest crook of the bunch, the chairman of the board, and John Gavin as the Reverend (this role wasn't in the play, but the film makers decided they may as well take a sock at wealthy organized religion as long as they were telling off other rich and powerful establishments). Thrown in for good measure as likable characters are: Danny Kaye as a ragpicker and Richard Chamberlain as a pacifist who persuade Hepburn to snap out of her lethargic past, awake to the present, and destroy those conspirators who are going to ruin Paris by digging for oil and then use the money to wage war.

So, you see, "Madwoman" has a lot going for it—including Edward Anhalt's screenplay which uses some of Giraudoux's brightest dialogue, a selection of stunning costumes worn well by our madwomen, and gorgeous color photography taken by two of the best men in the field, Claude Renoir and Burnett Guffey. What "Madwoman" doesn't have, however, is a lively sense of cinema. Except for the opening scenes showing Hepburn gliding through her house and along the Paris streets, the picture is static and talky; even the scene at the cafe, with its clever dialogue satirizing the conspirators conspiring, is more theatrical than cinematic. Some of the performances are good, and the episode in which the conspirators are put on trial in absentia before the countess exterminates them is the film's liveliest. Admirers of Hepburn may wish she had played the countess role with a few more touches of fey and whimsy in her madness, especially if her disposition of the conspirators is to be defended at all. But perhaps fey is not Hepburn's forte. She is a pleasure to look at, however, in those plumed hats and sweeping skirts. "Madwoman of Chaillot" needs more than that. Before its 145-minute running time runs out, the picture, like the skirts, drags.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

BOOKS

Tangled in the web of historical fallacies still

The Oxford Conspirators

MARVIN R. O'CONNELL

Macmillan, $9.95

KENNETH REXROTH

Books on the Oxford Movement, the development of the Catholic Revival in the Church of England, seem to be eternally popular. They have been written from all sorts of points of view: Low Churchmen who believed the whole thing was, and still is, run by a special committee of the Society of Jesus; Broad Churchmen who looked on it as the triumph of barbarism and superstition; amateur psychoanalysts like Geoffrey Faber who manages to be very penetrating and very silly in the same sentences; and of course, Anglo-Catholics and Catholic Modernists in the Church of England themselves. Today if we could lift a typical English churchman of the early years of the 19th century into the middle of the 20th by time machine, it would seem to him that the Oxford Movement had won all along the line. Even the most militant Low churches would seem to him positively Papist, in both doctrine and liturgy. Yet the struggle still goes on. Although a middle of the road Anglo-Catholicism with strong Catholic Modernist overtones is the dominant theology of Anglicanism, there are still plenty of Low Churchmen who are horrified by rites like the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, practices like genuflection and doctrines like transubstantiation or the Immaculate Conception. On the other hand the most "advanced" wing of the Anglo-Catholic Movement is today the most integralist and maximalist Ultramontane and ultra-Thomist body of opinion left in Catholicism, Orthodox, Roman or Anglican, and it is there that the Latin Mass and the solemn chanting of the Latin Breviary, the strict interpretation of Infallibility and the absolute condemnation of birth control still survive. Ultramontanes have always found this all inclusive ecumenicity outrageous, but before the Council of Trent, it was nip and tuck. Had it not been for purely secular political maneuvers, what Anglicans call the Church of Rome might itself well have been such an ecumenical communion.

It is this inability to accept Catholicism as catholicism which results in a peculiar united front between militant Low Church and "Romanist" historians of the Oxford Movement. Both treat it as a "Romanizing" movement, essentially unassimilable to Anglicanism, and since "Romanizing," inevitably headed for collision with the doctrine of Infallibility. Therefore they treat the entire revival as a kind of scenic background for John Henry Newman's long, tortured and tortuous journey to the Cardinalate. All but the least informed know enough not to stress its ritualism. While to the more ignorant it's all a matter of bowing and scraping before

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idols whilst emitting gobs of incense in all directions over a coughing and sneezing congregation.

Father Marvin R. O'Connell tries hard to escape from this web of historical fallacies, but the very title of his book shows how unsuccessful he is. I know of no book by a Roman Catholic in this century as widely informed, as carefully researched, nor as full of interesting detail and penetrating insights into the various personalities, yet the book is as misleading as the most bigoted in its Romeward perspective. Father O'Connell repeats the old myth so beloved of Anglo-Catholics, of the somnolent, simoniacal and cynical 18th-century Church of England. True, these vices flourished, but throughout Christendom it was a period when the Church Universal was most captive to the parochial nation state, the heyday of a debased Gallicanism in France, of the mercantile Lutheranism that was to revolt Kierkegaard in Denmark, and the utter prostration of Russian Orthodoxy to the Czar and Greek to the Turk, while the city of Rome itself was a malarial cow pasture, thinly scattered with palaces, ill-kempt churches and slums, the capital of a semi-barbarous state, ridden with bandits and ruled by indifference and terror. Yet the 18th century was a time of some of the noblest saints, of "going to the people" whether in the slums or in the martyrdoms in the forest of America and the cities of Asia. It was also a time that rediscovered, developed and intensified the art of contemplative prayer. In England it was a time of a mass revival of the Christ-centered life led by the Wesleys, the time of William Law, the teacher of both the Wesley brothers and the historian Gibbon, a mystic in the tradition of the great English mystics of the Middle Ages and the teacher of that practical divinity, that family monasticism so English and best known in the life of St. Thomas More. It was also the time of the full flower of that same lay monasticism known as Quakerism. So it is simply not true that Newman and a small band of his disciples woke the English Church like Lazarus from the grave.

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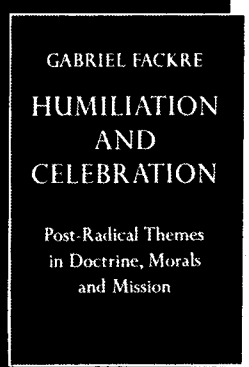

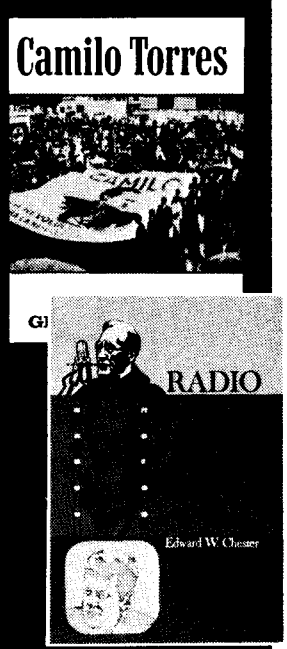

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Quite the contrary. All the leaders of the Oxford Movement were profoundly influenced by William Law and the Evangelicals, the "Methodists" who had stayed in the church. That is precisely what the Oxford Movement was, a mutation of Evangelicalism, a return to the evangel, to a life based on that of the Apostles and centered on the living Christ. They did not refer to the movement as Anglo-Catholic but called themselves The Apostolical Movement. From the Apostles they moved step by step through the Apostolic Fathers, through the great theologians of the Patristic period, and the "Councils of the Undivided Church." Their opponents did not call them Newmanites, but Puseyites, because it was Edward Bouverie Pusey, not Newman, who was the leader and the theologian. Newman was the public personality, the preacher, what today we would call the public relations man. His own special group of disciples were characterized by an unstable emotional intensity, excessive scruple and churchiness, and like Newman himself, they were obsessed with the search for external authority. Pusey, Keble, John Mason Neale and all the other great leaders of the Movement who stayed on the far side of the Tiber knew that the basis of Catholic authority was ultimately internal, just as much as did the Quakers. "If thee does not turn to the Inner Light, where will thee turn?" It was not for the pomp and power of the Vatican that St. Thomas More went so wittily to the block. It was, as he insisted again and again, for his conscience.

In his quest for what his psychoanalytic biographers call "paternal authority" or a stable super ego, Newman constructed a raft called "The Theory of the Development of Doctrine" on which he and his personal disciples could cross the Tiber. Once they landed on the other side, the Holy Father, enthusiastically aided and abetted by their more Maximalist fellow converts, demolished the raft. Newman spent the rest of his life a frustrated man still seeking authority to submit to, in most cases—for instance, the Irish university—in perfectly needless self-sacrifice.

The Catholic revival in the Church of England was very far indeed from being damaged by the conversion of Newman and his circle. A generation later the Movement had left the universities and gone to the slum churches of the great cities, to jobs that nobody else wanted, merged itself with the life of the poorest of the poor, the people Engels wrote about in *The Condition of the Working Class in England* and had turned empty, ruinous buildings into houses of prayer filled with humble practitioners of the imitation of Christ, and had far surpassed, not just Newman, but Rome itself in the revival of the interior life, and its outward garb, the simple splendor of liturgy. It was the merging of the great Catholic theologian who was quite independent of the Oxford Movement, F. D. Maurice, the social revolutionary Catholicism of Lamennais, and the Apostolic theology of Pusey that produced the great Red slum priests like Stewart Headlam who would be considered an advanced ritualist even now and who was the founder of the first socialist organization in England. It was Maurice who realized that England could never be returned to the spiritual life within the confines of the Oxford colleges and who led the way to a Catholicism with the deepest possible roots in the souls of ordinary men. But "conspirators" none of these men, not one, ever were. Newman's Pusey's or Maurice's apostolates were as public as the loaves and fishes.

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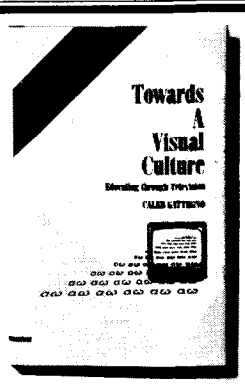

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The Origins of Socialism

GEORGE LICHTHEIM

Praeger, $6.95

EDWARD T. GARGAN

On the occasion of Picasso's 85th birthday André Malraux celebrated the feast by suggesting that Picasso's work recapitulated the whole history of art and anticipated all its future. Admiration of a similar order governs George Lichtheim's history of socialism until 1848. The achievement of Karl Marx,

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argues Lichtheim, was to fuse in a profound and original manner the tradition of French radicalism and socialism flowing out of the Great Revolution, the socialist expectations nurtured during England's response to the Industrial Revolution, and the theoretical and historical contributions of German philosophy and socialism. Lichtheim convincingly demonstrates the dimensions of Marx's genius alongside the efforts of his predecessors.

Lichtheim is persuasive because he has imitated the analytical skill that distinguished Marx from those who came before him. Marx was indebted to those such as Babeuf and Blanqui who understood the necessity for a radical assault against the established state and society. The work of economists like Ricardo was indispensable to his perception of the contradictions of the capitalist system. Marx separated himself, however, from so many of his teachers by his appreciation that the critics of the existing society reflected in the scope of their criticism the actual practices of that society, that they never fully understood what was happening to them even as critics. As a true European Marx enjoyed a perspective that enabled him to reconstruct the concrete history and social consciousness of Europe from the Middle Ages to the first half of the 19th century. His independence made possible his great economic, historical and philosophical synthesis. Lichtheim follows this method with the help of the hindsight that more than a century of scholarship permits. And his own role as a good European enhances every page of his analysis.

Lichtheim has written what must be considered the best glossary and introduction to the *Manifesto* of 1848. Issued on the eve of the Revolution of 1848, the *Manifesto* harshly criticised the existing socialist and communist literature. Marx and Engels, convinced of the accuracy of their analysis of what had actually happened and what was to be done, severely judged the accomplishments of French, English, and German socialist thinkers. Lichtheim has redressed the historical record by extending to Marx's forerunners the full measure of gratitude that Marx himself was not able to pay those whose theories he had to overcome and surpass.

His history superbly exhibits how the political opportunities of the French Revolution, the growth of the science of society, the philosophical and historical revolution at the conjunction of the 18th and 19th centuries framed the set of problems that made possible socialism and the fulfillment of its development in Marx. He presents this evolution so harmoniously that one is somewhat skeptical about the fluidity of the process. Marx, as Lichtheim frequently stresses, regarded negation as the motor force of history. Yet in Lichtheim's history the contradictions within socialism are so effectively melted into Marx's monumental construction that some of the continuity of these contradictions is lost. How is it that Marx's predecessors also gained followers until the present hours?

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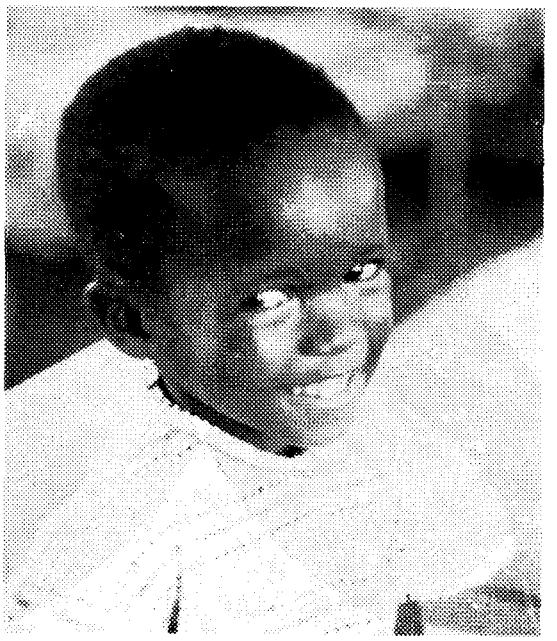

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Lichtheim is, of course, conscious of what he considers the anachronistic success of some of Marx's antagonists, but his masterful arrangement of the architecture of Marx's work blots out the continued presence of certain rivals.

This study deliberately underestimates Marx's early humanism. Lichtheim shies away from the recent controversies which have vulgarized the meaning of this humanism, and he delights in emphasizing that by 1846 Marx had put aside this sentimentality. Yet in praising the empirical and analytical skill of Marx he fails to give proper attention to Marx's indignation. An analysis of the concrete origins of Marx's salutary wrath would not be amiss in an account of the origins of socialism. One need not be maudlin to remember the rejection of misery that inspired the great critic of bourgeois society. Some references to a thinker such as Antoine-Eugène Buret (neglected by Lichtheim) would have illuminated the anger that encouraged Marx's enormous study. It was in Buret's *De la misère des classes laborieuses en Angleterre et en France* that Marx read, "If the life of man is to be a commodity, then slavery must be acknowledged. Industry has become a war and commerce a game." Lichtheim does recall the criticisms of Constantin Pecqueur who in 1842 wrote of his society: "This economic order condemns men to such abject occupations, to such desolate and bitter degradation that by comparison savagery appears a royal condition. Prostitution of the non-owning class in every respect."

Christian socialism, in Lichtheim's view was an unessential factor in the history of 19th century socialism. Some days, however, we may have a more complete treatment of Marx's reading of the theological quarrels of his time—disputes he recognized as central to the philosophical and psychological spirit of his age. His freedom to develope a social theory rooted in concrete human experience was in part due to his contact with Germany's great theologians. Marx wrote of Feuerbach's *The Essence of Christianity* and his other writings that, "they are the only writings since Hegel's *Phenomenology* and *Logic* which contain a real theoretical revolution." Protestant theology must be fully praised for its gifts to modern consciousness.

When Marx insisted that "*Religious suffering*" was "an expression of real suffering and a *protest* against real suffering," he demanded that this actual pain be responded to by something beside fantasy, by "the *truth of this world*." Marx as moralist prefigured something of the reality that Bonhoeffer would express from prison. In the end socialism's concern with the human condition, with freedom, and with "the truth of this world" will remain its abiding contribution to the possibilties of the human community that Marx so devotedly desired and labored to create. It is his passion that makes Marx so necessary to an age still tortured by the contradictions of capitalism. It is fitting and proper that when we remember

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translation by Alphonso Lingis

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REVIEWERS

KENNETH REXROTH's most recent book is *An Autobiographical Novel* (Doubleday).

EDWARD T. GARGAN teaches in the Department of History at the University of Wisconsin.

SIDNEY CALLAHAN is the author of *The Illusion of Eve, Beyond Birth Control* and a forthcoming book, *Women, Work and Children*, to be published by Sheed & Ward.

STEVE D'ARAZIEN, a reporter for the *Holyoke Transcript-Telegram*, spent a year in Vietnam as a correspondent.

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Marx's compassion we honor the critic of Hegel who insisted: "Man as an objective sentient being is a *suffering* being, and since he feels his suffering, a *passionate* being. Passion is man's faculties striving to attain their object."

Is It I, Lord?

ARNOLD ULEYN

Holt, Rinehart and Winston, $5.95

SIDNEY CALLAHAN

If aggiornamento anemia has got you down, this treatise on guilt is guaranteed to quicken the blood. Perhaps people have been telling you to relax and get the last of that festering R. C. guilt out of your system. If so, you may be ripe for a malady most rampant in our time: "pseudo-innocence." This diagnosis is provided by priest-psychiatrist Arnold Uleyn who examines pastoral psychology and the recognition of guilt in a short but shrewd book.

While nothing could be more 'in' than being a Dutch priest-psychotherapist (reportedly writing a book on sensitivity training no less), Arnold Uleyn has obviously strayed from an approved avantegarde path. He keeps quoting Augustine and Pascal, and everybody knows that's not where theology is at these days. Of course, Uleyn may be the first of a new wave; he's certainly unique in using psychology to try and *increase* the consciousness of sin. Not since Faber's *Self-Deceit* has anyone issued such a penetrating call for repentance.

Uleyn is as effective as he is for 20th-century man because of his mastery of psychology. Usually Catholics discovering psychology latch onto Truth, be it Freud's or Jung's or Adler's, and become useless through narrow dogmatism. Not Uleyn. He reveals a satisfying breadth of knowledge of

the field, culling the best of everything from psychoanalysis to gestalt to behaviorism. He avoids eclecticism by integrating his knowledge in a very elegant theory of the self. The self, as active integrator of the personality is synonymous with the Biblical 'heart,' but not with consciousness. "I" affirm and confer being on myself; but "In fact I cannot totally grasp all that I am." (Augustine). This being so, there are secret sins within, needing to become conscious despite our resistance to assuming responsibility.

Uleyn takes us on a tour of the defense mechanisms man uses to avoid responsibility and guilt. Even though Uleyn carefully guards against any indulgence in "pseudo-guilt," few readers can come through these chapters unscathed. Naturally I found the chapter on defensive rationalization most telling For some very good reason a section on the ambiguity of speech and

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language hit a bull's-eye, (or should I say bull's-shout?). It is I, Lord, all right, forever hiding with the gabby intellectuals behind endless floods of chatter—explaining, analyzing, interpreting, etc., etc., etc. Speech and writing (including reviews) are wonderful defenses. Of course, other readers may find other chapters more gripping, other defenses just as graciously destroyed. Now that I think of it, the chapter on repression was pretty good too . . . it's quite easy to repress this book.

In lieu of total repression I shall take the next best defense, an offensive criticism. Granted, Uleyn's psychology is great, but where has he been theologically? I am more than willing to react by "falling flat on one's face when confronted with God's self-revelation; His terrible majesty brings us to our knees." But is God willing for man to react this way? Uleyn, like Otto in *The Idea of The Holy*, never questions the assumption that God desires awe, adoration, fear and trembling. This reaction is a valid religious experience historically, but is it desirable in Christianity, with its affirmation of Incarnation? For Uleyn (following Augustine), the Spirit is given to the disciples so that they will have the boldness and freedom to reprove sinners. Christ will be vindicated; the Spirit will convince the world of sin. O.K., but what about "the liberty of the sons of God?" What about growing up into the fullness of Christ, freeing the groaning creation, no longer being servants but friends and adopted sons? You don't have to go as far as Joachim of Flora or even Teilhard de Chardin in order to question the "falling on one's face" approach to theology. Somewhere there must be a middle ground between sackcloth and ashes and a psychedelic-secular-humanism. When Uleyn exemplifies his own "apostolic virtue of *parrhesia*—outspokenness and intrepidity" in criticizing the world, he is refreshing, but is he right?

Once into his worldview, his interpretation of Scripture, you are swept along and rewarded by his acute psychological insight. I am nagged only by theological reservations; his clinical

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chapters are not only convincing, but useful. Ideally this book could provide psychological insight, as well as precipitate a coming theological crisis in the church. I'm afraid Augustine beat down his Pelagian opponents much too easily; we are due for another round in the crucial question of the freedom of man. Framing a Christian conception of sin and guilt will be central to the coming conflict. It seems that as a species we cannot avoid either guilt or its analysis. In an impending crisis over sin Uleyn's psychological credentials and theological conservatism will make him a powerful opponent. Since he is a Dutchman, trained in Rome, Louvain, and Vienna, perhaps he could be persuaded to drop that book on sensitivity-training and question his allegiance to Augustine. We would all repent more thoroughly if he would rethink his theological assumptions and achieve the thoroughness of his psychological synthesis. Please engage the thornier problem, Dr. Uleyn; you've described the symptoms and shown us the cure, but are you sure of the disease?

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STEVE D'ARAZIEN

What is revolution? Here are two recent books dealing with the question of revolution in Asia. The first is by Robert Shaplen, Asian correspondent for *The New Yorker*, a professional journalist of 30 years experience and author of a previous book on Vietnam, *The Lost Revolution*. John MacAlister is a Yale Ph. D. and is currently a lecturer and researcher at Princeton University.

Both books make similar points. Shaplen's, an expansion of his *New Yorker* dispatches, concentrates on Indonesia with a sizable section on Vietnam and brief chapters on the rest of Southeast Asia. His treatment of Vietnam is liberal, rather than radical, smoothly written from the knowledge and political perspective of a professional journalist-insider. He covers the period of the '60s writing, curiously, in the past tense as if the war were over.

Of the two works, Shaplen's is the least helpful in understanding the revolutionary process. This is primarily because, although he is in favor of revolutionary change, calling the process "often painful," he is against Communism, which he apparently considers evil. Although he admits the Communists have a monopoly on nationalism in Vietnam—"The greatest single failure of the American effort in South Vietnam was that it did not succeed in its original purpose of taking the nationalist revolution away from the Communists"—he would prefer otherwise.

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He searches, vainly I think, for an authentic non-Communist revolutionary alternative.

Shaplen credits the Communists' successes not to their ideas, where most of the credit properly belongs, but to their superior organization and to "that redoubtable super-organizer Ho Chi Minh." (Actually General Giap did most of the organizing.) While it is certainly true that the Communists are well organized—better than Saigon, perhaps even better than our legions—there is a kind of escapism in so crediting the course of the war.

A revolutionary organization or leader can only mobilize people by appealing to their aspirations. Ho's stature as an authentic nationalist—some regard him as "the natural leader not only for Vietnam, but for all of Southeast Asia"—is well-known and clearly illustrated in Jean LaCouture's recent biography.

With no awareness of Marxism's eclipse of liberalism as the prime mover for liberation since the publication of the Communist Manifesto and especially since America's emergence as a super-power after World War II, Shaplen follows the lead of the anti-Communist liberals, Roche, Kristol, and Kissinger, whom he fondly quotes. He denies the ideological challenge of Marxism, siding with the technocrats, men like McNamara who was against the bombing not because it is wrong to slaughter civilians, but because it didn't work. This kind of perverted pragmatism allows one to criticize the means used to implement policy while discouraging criticism of its ends.

Shaplen believes our purpose in Asia has been to provide "the power to give assistance and the power to protect." He says, "I don't see how we can escape that dual responsibility, whether there are any more Vietnams or not." While at one point he calls the policy "defensive," he later says "what we are fighting for was essentially an abstraction—American national interest is a non-totalitarian Asian future." He seems torn between the position of the ideological crusaders and the "realist" geopoliticians. He calls the intellectual's moral condemnation of the war "misdirected" without ever saying why.

Shaplen is afraid of a new policy, afraid "the pendulum will swing too far and that it would find itself back in a mood of isolation, uncommitted to other nations. . . ." This may be a popular position in Washington, but abroad neither patriot, nor nationalist, nor any sane man would want anything to do with an American commitment of the kind we have given Vietnam.

John T. MacAlister has written a conventional, but highly valuable and rather detailed study for serious students of the history of revolutionary politics in Vietnam. He draws heavily on previously published works available only in French, including those of his teacher, Hanoi-born scholar Paul Mus, Philipe Deviller and Jean Lacouture. He provides extensive coverage of the period from the early 1940s through to the August, 1945, revolution. Unless the leader is already familiar with Vietnamese history, the book's accounting of the many groups and personalities, which reads like a Russian novel, is apt to be confusing.

MacAlister has a better ideological understanding of the Vietnamese revolution than does Shaplen. "Those who have understood the meaning of revolution in Vietnam have been members of the Vietnamese Communist movement," he tells us, thus recognizing the fusion of nationalism and Communism there. Elsewhere, however, he indicates a belief that incumbent governments "can achieve revolution within their governmental structure." This violates the Marxist maxim that revolution is a change in structure, not in style.

His theory of revolution is both weak and ambiguous. Correctly believing that revolution may occur wherever the masses doubt the legitimacy of the established government, he alternates between two views. One holds that revolutionaries are men with political talent whose social mobility is thwarted by the colonial system. They then play on "traditional antipathies as a means of gaining political strength." Political

Progress in Education

THE DECADE of debate which extends between Monsignor [John Tracy] Ellis and Mrs. [Mary Perkins] Ryan has not so much seen an "orgy of self-criticism" as a process of intellectual fermentation. The discomfort it may have caused is the least acceptable reason for any discontinuance or moratorium on it. The positive facts are that Catholic education has made substantial progress at all levels and that Catholic schools are increasingly producing graduates who are men and women of high intelligence as well as strong religious convictions.

It is equally clear, however, that they are not yet producing the dedicated intellectuals of Monsignor Ellis' cast nor the truly Christian person of Mrs. Ryan's prayer. Their indictments of the American Catholic impoverishment in these respects have been a valuable service and have been welcomed as a spur to reform in some quarters. In other sectors, unfortunately, their criticisms have deepened the suspicion and fear of the intellect and of intellectuals. . . . The door is ajar but it is not really open. —John D. Donovan, *Commonweal*, October 2, 1964

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opportunists, in other words. At another point he finds them men with "acute sensitivity toward the social bases of their country's political difficulties and a capacity to create new forms of popular participation which link people together in a common effort to change their society." Here the revolutionary becomes, more accurately, a moral force.

Another ambiguity is present in MacAlister's view of colonialism in Vietnam. He sees it as "the creation of an export economy in primary products . . . with a protected market for French manufactured goods." It is exploitation of a weak power by a strong one. But he also seems taken in by the rhetoric used by all imperial powers to legitimize their policies and he speaks of the modernizing effects of colonialism. They exist and are, of course, both secondary and unintended benefits of the process.

Consistent with his value-free orientation, MacAlister's response to the revolutionary situation is to see possibilities for co-option, what he calls "institutionalized compliance." In this machiavellian mood, he believes "those who become revolutionaries . . . are potentially available to the incumbent government." As a result of this sort of shrewd policy, James Farmer is in the White House, rather than in the streets where he might do some good.

In contrast to Shaplen, however, MacAlister shines. His sympathy for the Vietnamese is evident when he calls the war one "that has grown to a scale so unprecedented for such a small country that it is not only destroying cities and ravaging the countryside, but it is also weakening the shaky foundations of Vietnamese society. Today many people would argue, with some justification, that we had no right or responsibility to respond at all." Unfortunately, due to MacAlister's fondness for the dispassionate and balanced statement, this is one of his strongest judgments on the moral issue of U.S. intervention.

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CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 3)

for some, the appellate procedure was only an exercise in futility. In the Levy and Noyd cases the ACLU pushed very hard for a similar ruling. It has finally succeeded in this instance.

If there is any lesson to be learned in the senseless attempt of the Marine Corps to punish free speech it is that some people in Washington may now, hopefully, be getting the message.

MURRAY POLNER

Good Show

New York

To the Editors: Philip Tracy's "The Birth of a Culture" [Sept. 5] is the best I've seen on Woodstock. I would put it up there with, or a bit ahead of, the *Time* essay, which it supplements. Congratulations and thanks.

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